# SATURDAY REVIEW

OF

## POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

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## THE INJURED INNOCENT OF EUROPE.

THERE are few social characters more interesting than that of the femme incomprise. She is the gem of purest ray serene which the dark unfathomed caves of society bear—the flower that wastes its sweetness on the desert bear—the nower that wastes its sweetness on the deservair—the sparrow on the housetop—the pelican in the wilderness—the owl in the ivy-bush. Her hopeless love, like that of Don Whiskerandos, finds comfort in despair. Her meat is the yearning after the Truthful and the Beautiful, and imperial quarts of salt tears are her only drink. We all know the type. She is a character not altogether undiverting, provided only it is not your doom to live with her; for it is not altogether impossible that, after she has exhausted upon you her unrequited passion, she may improve a proper section. impress upon you a sense of her wrongs with her nails. It happens that Europe at large is just now in the unpleasant position of having to do with a femme incomprise on a very gigantic scale, disguised in the character of an Emperor whose misfortune it is to be perpetually misunderstood. It is a law of dramatic propriety that the most desolate of heroines should never be without a confidente, for otherwise a great deal of the most picturesque despair might be lost to the world for want of an object in whose sympathizing bosom it might be fitly deposited. The injured innocent of France is not denied this supreme solace of souls which dream only of the interests of "humanity, civilization," and dream only of the interests of "humanity, civilization," and those other precise and definite objects which belong to the repertory of ill-used personages of this description. He finds in Sir Francis Head a "French Stick" ready fagotted, through whom he may speak in a stage whisper to the galleries, the boxes, and the pit of Europe. If Louis Napoleon sighs over the ingratitude of mankind in purple, it is quite the thing that the knightly confidente should rain tears of indignation in plush. Our hearts melt as we see these two forlorn creatures confiding to one another before the eyes of Europe their reciprocated griefs. Who can hear without emotion that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French "finds himself misunderstood and misjudged by "those whom he values the most?" That the gentlemen who are enjoying the cool breezes of Cayenne and the agreeable climate of Lambessa should take a partial view of his able climate of Lambessa should take a partial view of his character, he can comprehend. But that "the English "should attack him incessantly in the journals in the most unworthy and the most unjust manner"—that passes "most unworthy and the most unjust manner"—that passes his belief. He has "always entertained a great admiration "for the liberties of the English people;" but he "regrets "deeply that liberty, like all good things, should also have "its excess." Why is it, he asks, with touching and reproachful earnestness, that "instead of making truth known, liberty "uses every effort to obscure it? Why is it that, instead of encouraging and developing generous sentiments, it "propagates mistrust an hatred?"

Why, indeed? Unfort ate Emperor! Most reprehensible Liberty! Of course there is some black designing monster who is the author of all this evil. The drama would not be complete without some perfidious scheming

Why, indeed? Unfore ate Emperor! Most reprehensible Liberty! Of course here is some black designing monster who is the author of all this evil. The drama would not be complete without some perfidious scheming villain who is perpetually meditating the ruin of so much innocence and virtue. It is all the doing of the English Press. It is we who are the stock villains of this melancholy tale of innocence betrayed and virtue traduced. Well, we wont stop to argue that point just now. But it appears that there are other places, in which liberty can hardly be said to be in excess, where similar "efforts are made to obscure truth." We learn, on the unquestionable authority of the Moniteur, that "public opinion in foreign countries does not clearly understand the present régime of the press in France." We thought, indeed, that the recent circular of M. Delangla to the prefets of the departments had given us some general

notions on the subject. However, it seems we are mistaken. "The administration, it ought to be known, has no "preventive action as regards the press"—a statement on which we shall only remark that it deserves to be classed with those announcements which occasionally appear under the heading of "important, if true." But it appears that the Emperor has cause to "regret that liberty, like all good "things, should have its excess" (little as we would suppose it) even in the heart of his own dominions, and under his own mild and temperate rule. For there, too, we are told that "public opinion is now more than ever taken unawares "and misled" by the exaggerations of a press which indulges in "pure imagination, falsehood, and delirium." It is the press of France, it seems, which is the author of "those "general accusations which malevolence invents, which cre-"dulity hawks about, and which stupidity accepts." There, too, liberty in excess "spreads from one end of Europe to the "other rumours representing everywhere to public credulity "the Emperor of the French as exciting to war, and throw-"ing on him alone the responsibility of the disquietudes and "warlike preparations of Europe." Oh, monstrous wickedness! Most unjustifiable and licentious press of France. Where, then, shall truth be found amid all these "manœuvres" of falsehood? Apparently nowhere in the world but in the Moniteur and the breast of Sir Francis Head. The latter assures us that it is only in "the calm and magnanimous "sentiments of the Emperor Napoleon III., now at the "head of half a million of soldiers," that we can look for "the blessings of that peace that passeth all understanding." The Moniteur, too, "guided by the sole love of truth," "indicates to us the real thoughts, duties, and tendencies of the Emperon." It has, indeed, been malignantly asserted that France is making considerable warlike preparations of our "navy, but the frigates are fitted out for Algeria, the trans-" ports are provided for different eventualities—they are in "tended fo

Moniteur?

We do not say a word about the "journals," which, of course, are always incorrigibly malevolent. But we ask in what quarter do these representations meet with credit or confidence? Sardinia is not hostile to France. Does ahe believe in the peaceful intentions of Louis Nafoleon? If so, why is she equipping an army which can never enter the field except as a division of a French force? Austria has never been accused of "liberty in excess." Does she credit the pacific assurances of the Moniteur? Witness her Italian reinforcements and her voluntary loan. Prussia is a neutral Power. She has no interest in "casting "doubts on the most unobjectionable measure, or clouding "the clearest situation." Why does she appeal to the such of treaties? Against what breaker of treaties is he monstrance directed? Lastly, we come to pagastic the sask what is the conduct of the English Courtains. Why is it that our Navy Estimates are increased.

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disquietude and anxiety is it that causes our dockyards to be at work day and night? Against whom is it that we are manning our ships and rifling our guns? Does England believe in the Moniteur? Were we not right in saying that Louis Napoleon is the femme incomprise of Europe? He is understood by no living soul but Sir Francis Head. In him alone has he "found a defender." In every Court and every nation of Europe he is treated with "the most unjust and unworthy "suspicion." He finds, to his surprise, that the most vehement protestations of a man who (as the Moniteur informs us) "is well known to keep his word," are universally disregarded by all who have not forgotten that his throne was founded on perjury, and that his power is bottomed in fraud.

us) "is well known to keep his word," are universally disregarded by all who have not forgotten that his throne was founded on perjury, and that his power is bottomed in fraud.

What, then, is the moral to be drawn from the present posture of European affairs? We have found Guy Faux among the powder barrels—the train is laid before our eyes upon the ground—the lighted match is in his hands. He may make what pretences he pleases, but the plot is discovered—we cannot yet say whether the catastrophe is averted. He has it still in his power to bury his own throne in the ashes of a European conflagration. The articles in the Moniteur, and the resignation of his bellicose and intractable cousin, may be indications that he trembles on the brink of the precipice he has dug for himself; but it is not safe to calculate on the compulsory good faith of the author of the coup détat. For England and for Europe there is but one road of safety—one hope of peace. We have seen sufficiently what are the fruits of timidity, adulation, and concession. The policy of the Empire is instinct with the spirit of the bully—it tramples on the submissive and retires before the brave. While Europe is united against the aggression of the common enemy, peace may still be possible, for it is certain that he only waits for symptoms of dissension to strike the blow which is delayed by nothing but his fears. For our part, weregard the return to a sounder policy and a more manly spirit on the part of England with a sincere and solid satisfaction. On this subject we have felt too deeply and thought too long to admit the possibility of any reserve or hesitation. We have insisted upon every occasion, with the earnestness dictated by profound conviction, on the inevitable danger which must ensue from the hollow, disingenuous, and cowardly spirit which, under the fallacious pretext of fostering the French alliance, has governed the conduct and language of certain English politicians since the close of the Russian war. We have maintained throughout that,

## THE "CHARLES ET GEORGES" DEBATE.

EVERY one must allow that attacks on a Ministry which are intended to imply a direct censure, and yet are not thrown into a shape rendering a distinct vote possible, are in ordinary cases a mischievous mode of party warfare. But there are clearly exceptional cases where a mere discussion is the only available means of bringing an important subject to the notice of the House. When, as in the instance of the Charles et Georges, the conduct of a particular Minister, and not the general policy of a Cabinet, is to be attacked, it is impossible to propose a vote of censure. For the Cabinet is bound at all hazards to defend the conduct of each of its members, and if the issue is distinctly raised, the Government must stand or fall by it. Now, as we have repeatedly said, the case of the Charles et Georges does not fairly raise the question of the general foreign policy of the Cabinet—it merely exposes to comment the conduct and capacity of the Foreign Secretary. In a mere discussion on a motion for papers, it was very easy to criticise the course which Lord Malmesbury had taken, and this was what was wanted. Incidentally also the discussion gave an opportunity for justice to be done to Portugal, in a way that was not official and

formal, but was perfectly satisfactory. No sensible Portuguese, looking to the forms of Parliamentary debate, and the present position of European affairs, could have wished anything beyond a declaration from a statesman occupying Lord John Russell's position, that "Portugal showed a sense of "honour and a dignity which he wished had been equalled "by England." This is the best shape in which the amend to Portugal could have been made by this country. It would have been absurd to expect that the English Parliament should undertake to pronounce a judgment on the numerous and difficult law points that were at issue between France and Portugal. All that was requisite was that a public tribute to the general spirit in which Portugal acted should be paid by a statesman of sufficient weight and eminence to make him a proper spokesman of English feeling on the matter. No one was better entitled to do this than Lord John Russell, and no one could have done it more amply or more effectively.

effectively.

This is one of the great fruits of this useful discussion.

The other is, that Lord Malmesbury is henceforth discredited. official representatives of the Government had nothing to say for the Foreign Secretary. Lord Malmesbury deserved a severe censure, and he received it. The style of his dispatches will soon be forgotten, the blunders of his arguments will be overlooked, the Sheik of Matabane will be committed truths of the Protocol of the Treaty of Paris will sink into an old and bad joke. But henceforth Lord MALMESBURY is a marked man. He stands convicted of a most reprehensible negligence in the conduct of the daily business of the Foreign Office, and of a very unworthy truckling to France. We may put aside all the endless discussion about the position and character of the French ship, about the bona fides of the captain, and about the extent of the municipal jurisdiction of Portugal, and henceforth we need look only to one or two great unanswerable facts. Lord Malmesbury, having agreed with the French Government that a mediation under the Treaty of Paris should be accepted, and that this mediation should extend to the principle of the capture, entirely omitted to give any intimation of this agreement to Mr. Howard. Had Lord Malmesbury taken the pains of an ordinary trader, and kept his foreign agent advised of what was going on, Mr. Howard's discreditable despatch to the Portuguese Government could never have been sent. But, instead of telling Mr. Howard that mediation on certain definite terms had been agreed on, Lord MALMESBURY, at the last moment, telegraphed to Lisbon some ridiculous theories about the Sheik of Matabane. If Mr. Howard had known the terms of mediation agreed on, he would have been awake to the trick of the French Governwould have been awake to the trick of the French Government, and he would then probably have counterchecked the fraud, and held the Marquis DE LISLE to the terms accepted by Count WALEWSKI. There is no possible answer, and no answer was attempted in either House, to the charge of great negligence to which Lord MALMESBURY subjected himself by not forwarding to Mr. Howard the all-important intelligence that we have been executed by France and ligence that mediation had been accepted by France, and

ligence that mediation had been accepted by France, and that this mediation was to extend to the whole question, and to embrace the validity of the capture.

Secondly, to omit all minor signs of weakness and fear, Lord Malmesbury was incontestably to blame in not animadverting strongly and plainly on the fraud which had been practised on him by Count Walewski. Let us judge the Foreign Secretary by his own defence. He says, "How was "I to guess that the French Government would eat its own words?" This is his deliberate and calm verdict on what the FrenchGovernment did. It "eatits own words," thereby deceiving England and Portugal. Was not this a case for England to hold her own, to appeal to France, not as a protesting inferior, but as a reproving equal, and to stigmatize, in language diplomatic, perhaps, but unmistakeable, the audacious trickery that had been played off? The French Government "eat "its own words," and Lord Malmesbury had nothing more to say than that "the apparent misapprehension which M. "DE LISLE has shown of his instruction is much to be regretted." An English Foreign Secretary summons up courage to say that he regrets, positively regrets, that the French Government has "eaten its words." But even this regret might be dangerous if expressed too loudly, and it is only whispered into the confidential bosom of Lord Cowley, who is informed that "it is not desirable that he should re"vert to the conversation with Count Walewski." That successful adventurer must be deeply gratified with the posi-

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without of Europ outwit h tion he occupies in these English papers. A great portion of the correspondence consists of a record of his humours. Count Walewski is irritated, Count Walewski is a little more quiet, Count Walewski is really quite pleasant—until at last, Count Walewski gives his farewell frown, and informs Lord Cowley that he neither knows nor cares what are the treaties which bind England to Portugal, but whatever they may be, France would do as she pleases. Hearing this, Lord Malesbury mildly observed that it would be better not to say anything more to Count Walewski about the matter, but that he protested against the Count's statement, that the cases of the Cagliari and of the Charles et Georges are not similar. It is as if a man who had been kicked out of doors should humbly suggest that his aggressor's

boots were not a perfect fit.

Nor is it true that, under any circumstances, it can be a matter of indifference that our English Foreign Secretary is incompetent. The speakers on behalf of the Government urged in both Houses that, however weak Lord MALMESBURY may have been, the matter was really in the hands of Lord Cowley, who was equal to the occasion. As Lord Malmesbury modestly pointed out, it was ridiculous to think of his giving instructions to Lord Cowley. This is a view of the official position of an English Foreign Secretary in which we cannot concur. Why is there a Foreign Secretary at all? Why is he paid for directing the representatives of England abroad, if he is at liberty to say that they really know so much more about foreign affairs than he does, that it is out of the question to think of his giving them orders? Surely it is not open to Lord MALMESBURY to argue that he is a a superfluity. At present, and for a long time past, Lord Cowley is and has been the real Foreign Secretary of England. This is objectionable for a variety of reasons. In the first place, it is always a mistake, when you have got an able man, to put a dummy over him. If Lord Cowley had been the actual instead of the virtual Secretary, he would have transacted the business part of the affair efficiently, and he would have let Mr. Howard know of the agreement which ought to have been his guide in giving agreement which ought to have been his guide in giving advice on behalf of England to Portugal. Secondly, the real English Foreign Secretary ought to be in England. It is not English Foreign Secretary ought to be in England. to dangerous questions asked in Parliament. The Under-Secretary makes it his special business to do that, and is quite sufficient for the task. But the Foreign Secretary ought to be in England, because it is of the last importance that he should be continually exposed to the action of English opinion, and elevated by the breath of a free country out of the leaden complaisance of diplomacy. It requires every effort of the public and the press in England to rescue us from the bad effects of being represented abroad by men whose daily life and social position depend on the smiles or frowns of a despotic Court. There is something enervating and corrupting in every tainted atmosphere; and nothing can be more deplorable than that an English representative, who is in daily communication with such a Court as that of the Tuileries, should be relieved from the restraint imposed on him by the necessity of obeying a chief who is inspired by the living presence of free institutions. One thing is certhe living presence of free institutions. One thing is cer-tain—that the honour of England is not safe unless the tain—that the honour of England is not safe unless the seals of the Foreign Office are held by some one who, whatever may be his other qualifications, is, above all things, thoroughly English in disposition and feelings—who will neither assent to the suppression of the freedom of the press in the minor States of Europe, nor bow the neck to the yoke, without a word of remonstrance, when one of the great States of Europe eats its own words in order that it may foil and outwit him.

### THE REFORM BILL AND THE NATION.

THE resolution of which Lord John Russell has given notice immensely complicates the political situation. That the scheme of Reform proposed by the Government is not popular with the country or acceptable to the House of Commons, it is impossible to deny. It can hardly be matter of surprise that a project which was necessarily framed to secure the acceptance of a Tory minority should fail to meet the approbation of a Liberal majority. This, indeed, was from the first the inherent and incurable vice of the false and dishonest position which the Derbyite Government, in their greed of office, have taken up. Not caring or wishing for Reform, they undertook to introduce a Reform Bill in order that they might keep their places. The inevitable consequence of this

insincere policy has already developed itself, for the Government have deserted their Conservative entrenchments, and are already taken in flank by the Liberal forces. If they had had the honesty and manliness to stand by their own principles, and had acted on the convictions which Lord Deray expressed on his accession to office, that the representation of the country was in its present state substantially satisfactory, they would at this moment have stood in a position which would have entitled them to public respect, and which would, in the existing state of opinion, have ensured them a very general support. The history of modern politics is so frequently reproducing illustrations of the maxim that honesty is the best policy, that the very repetition of this truth seems to cause it to be universally disregarded. The Government at this moment is in the position of a crew who have cut their cable in a dead calm, and are drifting ashore by the force of an irresistible current without a breeze to give them steerage way.

steerage way.

For the men themselves, or the party which has elevated them into a situation for which they are so little fit, it is impossible to feel the slightest sympathy or compassion. They are the merited victims of their own deliberate dishonesty. Believing that no change was requisite, they have proposed a change which does not satisfy those whose support they disingenuously courted. They have dropped the solid morsel of Conservatism to snatch at the Radical shadow. They have sacrificed Mr. Henley and Mr. Walfole, but they have not gained Mr. Bright. For the conduct of the Government in this matter there is not, as we observed last week, a syllable of excuse to be alleged. But for the reasons on which we have already insisted we cannot consent to regard this question from a personal or a party point of view. The national interests which are involved are too serious, and the dangers which menace the Constitution are too obvious and imminent, to allow any considerations whatever to interfere with

the paramount necessities of the public good.

We are by no means clear that, even as a party move, the course which Lord J. Russell has adopted is politic or wise. It has far too much the appearance of a greedy impatience to despatch an Administration which, if left to itself, must inevitably tumble to pieces. Probably, however, the motive which principally actuated Lord J. Russell was to give himself seisin of the question, and to replace himself at the head of a party in which he has been so long obscured. On such tactics we feel called upon to pass no criticism. Party politicians must judge for themselves how far they can reconcile the pursuit of their own interests with the obligations which patriotism imposes. For our part, we profess no party politics, and we can therefore have nothing to do with such manœuvres. We have but one question to consider, and it is this—What course is that which at this moment the public interests demand? On this point we have only to repeat what we have through-

which at this moment the public interests demand? On this point we have only to repeat what we have throughout maintained, that the first and paramount necessity is an immediate settlement of this question. We are glad to see that the Times, which in other respects has exhibited an almost ludicrous embarrassment and confusion on this question, has at length been able to apprehend the enormous danger of the protraction of a democratic agitation. We ask, then (as the only question with which we are concerned), will the resolution of Lord John Russell conduce to the settlement of this question? We say distinctly and decisively that it will not. It is framed with the express object, not of modifying the Government Bill, but of totally defeating it, with the direct aim of either ejecting the Administration, or at least of forcing on a dissolution. As far as any principles which Lord John Russell may consider improperly introduced or unwisely omitted in the Government scheme, the natural and obvious course is to deal with such points in Committee. But this would not suit the hungry ex-officials who are racing for blood in full view of Downing-street. Less interested politicians, however, who act with a single view to the public interests, will ask themselves whether the summary ejectment of the present Administration is the best or the surest way to settle the question of Reform. Let us consider for a moment what will be the political situation in the event of Lord Derby being forced to an instant resignation. We do not know, and we do not much care to inquire, what may be the terms of the secret treaty which is alleged to have been negotiated between Cambridge House and Chesham Place. But we may assume that, in some form or other, the mover of the amendment to the second reading of the Government Bill is destined to take charge of the future of Reform. But

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the day after the resignation of Lord Derby, what will be the situation of the Government which Lord John Russell will aspire to conduct? In the first place, how will it be composed? We say nothing of the rival claims of the member for Tiverton and of the member for the city of London. We do not even raise the capital difficulty of the conduct of foreign affairs. But we ask, what is to be the composition of the Cabinet? In these days, it is needless to say that the old Whig team is out of the question. Are we, then, to have a Whig-Radical combination in which Lord John Russell and Mr. Bright are to have the joint treatment of the English Constitution? Is the member for Birmingham to play to the new Cabinet the part which Mr. O'Connell assumed towards the Melbourne Administration? Is the prospect that is offered neither more nor less than a new Lichfield House compact? But if this is not the scheme, it may be said that a general coalition may be attempted—something resembling the late Aberdeen Administration in its character and composition. The example is not promising—the precedent, we confess, is anything but encouraging. The Derbyite party, defeated and exasperated, will present to such a Government an angry and serried front. They will be able to hire on occasions the assistance of Mr. Bright and his friends, whose jealousy will be excited, and whose views will not be enforced by such a combination; and in addition to this, the Opposition will receive a large contingent from the discontented Whigs, who have been used to place, and find themselves excluded by such an arrangement. Such a Government as this, whatever may be the ability of its individual members, can no more pass a Reform Bill than it could carry on a war. There is no reasonable prospect that any Administration that can be formed upon the dismissal of the present Government can settle the question of Reform.

We have hitherto excluded from our consideration the eventuality of a dissolution. But that Lord Derby has a right, and that he will certainly exercise his power, to resort to such an expedient, no one doubts. It may be said that such a step is inexpedient, reckless, and unjustifiable, but is that any reason Lord Derby and Mr. Disraell should abstain from it? Now, one would suppose that patriotic politicians, considering the present state of European affairs, would reflect at least, before they deliberately forced on a dissolution, whether in any view of the public interest a dissolution is indispensable. Is a dissolution necessary to settle the question of Reform? That can only be so if the opinion of the country is notoriously and widely at variance with the sentiments of the House of Commons. But so far from this being the case, we believe that there was hardly ever a time when the opinion of the majority of the House of Commons was more completely at one with the general feeling of the country. We say, in this point of view, that a dissolution is unpatriotic and criminal. It is a gambling speculation in which the people who put down their money are almost sure to lose. Whether the Whigs may gain a few seats or the Tories lose a few votes nobody knows—as far as this goes, it is a mere toss up—but one thing is quite certain, that it is the demagogues who keep the bank, and that it is they who in the long run will need to the country.

But then it may be said, the principles on which the Government Bill is founded are so unjust, and its provisions are so unfair, that it is impossible not to condemn it. We answer, if it be so, why not alter it? The notice given by Mr. DISRAELI on Thursday night, with respect to the freeholder clause, shows the sort of stuff of which the Derbyite Government is made. They can be compelled to do anything, and to accept anything, so that they may remain but a few weeks longer in office. We may despise them for their meanness, but the public advantage may require that we should pay them the price of their servility. There is no fear but that if the Bill goes into committee they will be ready, if it should appear to them necessary, to lay clauses on the table providing for vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and universal suffrage. It will be time enough to turn them out later, when Mr. DISRAELI has earned his pension. The longer they are permitted to exist, the feebler and the more despised will they become. There is no reason to doubt, that with such a Government in office—a Government which fears nothing, and cares for nothing, except being turned out of office—the majority of the House of Commons can mould this question just as they please, in the same manner as they moulded the Indian Bill last session. To turn

such an Administration out at such a moment, is to kill the

will pocket the stakes.

goose that lays the golden eggs. It is to destroy the only hope of really settling the question of Reform at once. It was by the help of a squeezable Tory Administration, hanging on with desperation to place, that the Jew Bill was settled. It is only by the same instrumentality that the difficult and embarrassing question of Reform has any clear prospect of being disposed of. Lord John Russell may rest assured that he will have no difficulty in Committee in forcing on the Government any provisions which the public opinion of the country and of the majority of the House of Commons approves. If he seeks more than this by his resolution, we for our part can give no countenance to his plans, nor lend any assistance to his tactics. For the reasons which we have stated, we have no hesitation in again affirming that the interests of the country imperatively demanded that the Government Bill should be proceeded with—subject to such modifications as the majority of the House of Commons may think fit to introduce in Committee—as the only course which will rescue us from the enormous mischief of indefinite postponement.

## THE INDIAN DEBATE.

THE renewed discussion on the proposed Indian Loan has served, as every successive debate will probably for some time serve, to deepen the anxiety with which the financial embarrassments of India inspire all thoughtful men. Mr. WILSON alone assumed a cheerful tone, and if his hopes had had the advantage of being based on facts, they might have relieved the uneasiness which no other speaker attempted to conceal. The slightest examination is unfortunately enough to show on how fallacious a foundation such sanguine anticipations rest. It is always easy to make things appear pleasant by the simple process of omitting liabilities that cannot be evaded, and reckoning on resources that have ceased to flow. Mr. WILSON, after all, promises us nothing better than an annual deficit of 3,000,000. to be met by the growth of an inelastic revenue; but even this mitigated expression of Indian difficulties is only got at by setting down nothing for the inevitable increase in military expenditure beyond the amount at which it stood before the mutiny.

The past increase of the revenue is the ground on which

The past increase of the revenue is the ground on which a similar improvement is predicted for the future, and the reasoning would be intelligible if the policy of annexation, by which that increase was obtained, had not come to an end for want of territories to absorb. There is a radical fallacy in all arguments as to the future of India derived from the experience and the statistics of the past. The chain of continuity has been broken, and the crisis through which the country is now passing is the commencement of a period to which no analogy can be found in the past. All that experience can teach is merely negative. It is certain that the old scale of military expenditure affords no criterion for the future, and that the old method of recruiting the revenues, by appropriating those of neighbouring States, can no longer be resorted to. Even the power of borrowing in India seems to be nearly extinct. Six per cent. will scarcely tempt the native capitalists to unlock their hoards; and it is only by appealing to the London market that Lord Stanley can calculate on providing for the demands of a single year.

A stationary revenue, a growing expenditure, an enormous annual deficit, and a failing credit—this is the present outlook of the Queen's Indian Empire. Those who prefer indulging in soothing dreams to grappling with stubborn realities may find some comfort in the idle expectation that, if matters are left to go on in the old fashion, some inscrutable means will be found for balancing an excessive expenditure which cannot be reduced, and a deficient income which has no capacity of increase. But the truth that must sooner or later be faced is that, unless new resources can be rapidly developed on a very considerable scale, the Indian Government will cease to be self-supporting. The void is too great to be filled by additional taxation, even if it should be found practicable to impose any new tax at all. Naturally enough, there is a growing tendency to seek some mode of making the wealthier natives contribute to the State, and even Mr. Bright threw out the suggestion, that some new impost might be levied by a Government which, in another part of his speech, he had, with his usual fairness, pictured as wringing from the people all they could be forced to pay. But if anything can be raised by such devices as stamps or licenses, or by any form of direct or indirect taxation, it will be but a drop in the sea of Indian deficiency. Happily, no necessity of faction compelled Mr. Bright to distort his description of the capabilities of India; and in indicating the development of her

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natural fertility as the one possible source of future prosperity, he was for once emphatic without being incorrect. In no country in the whole world is there such a combination of soil, climate, population, industry, and even water, if it is only properly garnered for use when wanted. Nowhere are so many elements of abounding prosperity. There is there so many elements of abounding prosperity. There is everything from Nature; but the productive industry of the country is almost as nothing, and all the public works put together do not approach those of a moderate-sized English county. The most improvable territory on the face of the earth is languishing for capital to draw out its productive power, and it will languish until capital is applied with an unsuaring hand unsparing hand.

It is too late now to attempt to restore the finances by investments on the scale which was thought sufficient before the mutiny. If India is not capable of being improved into a paying possession, it might be good policy to get quit of it as soon as a creditable opportunity could be found; but if, as no one doubts, it contains the germs of unbounded wealth, the more rapidly and energetically we cultivate so fruitful a field, the sooner will England be free from the incubus of an Indian debt which has haunted all statesmen from Sir Robert Peel downwards. That any adequate That any adequate development of Indian resources is possible, without the aid of this country in some shape or other, no one has ventured to assert, and those who stickle for the absolute separation of English and Indian finance must be content to look forward to an Indian bankruptcy with all the consequences that will inevitably flow from it. What those consequences are is plain enough, even from the speculations of the stoutest

No one has protested more strongly than Sir G. C. Lewis against giving an immediate guarantee for the Indian debt; but what is the alternative he proposes? He admits that but what is the alternative he proposes? He admits that we could never honourably retire from the country, but he would prefer taking part of the military expenditure at once on the shoulders of England to guaranteeing any Indian loan. If this were not sufficient, he would raise a new loan on the credit of England, and apply it in redeeming the Indian debt. The difference between this course and that of raising an Indian loan with an Imperial guarantee, would be to throw the first, instead of the ultimate, charge on the Consolidated Fund. By guaranteeing a new Indian loan, we should be in effect borrowing on the credit of England and lending to India on the security of her natural wealth. On Sir G. C. Lewis's plan, we should charge ourselves with the interest on the loan, and give, instead of lending, the proceeds for the benefit of the natives of India. This is a strange proposition from a financier who denounces the policy of relieving the population of India from any fiscal burdens which the mutiny may have entailed. Strongly as we are convinced of the necessity of supplying India with abundant capital for public works, we would make a harder bargain than Sir G. C. Lewis; for, if England is to back Indian acceptances, she has a right to expect that India shall bear the charge as long as she has any funds at command. Possibly Sir G. C. Lewis meant no more than to say that the form in which English aid should be given, in the event of its becoming necessary, ought to be by raising a new loan rather than by attaching the guarantee to the existing debt. This is obvious enough, for otherwise the benefit intended for the Indian treasury would be in great measure diverted into the pocket of the creditor; but whatever shape such a transaction might assume, the interest on the new Indian Consols ought in fairness and policy to be provided for out of the revenues

It is a significant circumstance that the form in which English credit ought to be pledged in case of necessity should be thus minutely discussed by a statesman who seems to recoil with horror from the idea of an immediate trial of his recoil with horror from the idea of an immediate trial of his own plan. And yet, to any one who is convinced that England cannot in the last extremity leave India in the lurch, it ought to be apparent that the sooner the relief is given the more likely it will be to avert the ultimate difficulty, and thus save England from incurring more than a nominal liability. But the question will solve itself very rapidly as soon as a few more converts have got as far as Sir G. C. Lewis, and are prepared to admit the fact, long since indicated by Sir ROBERT PEEL, that "if the credit of India "should become disordered, the credit of England must be brought forward in support of it." If this was sound doctrine, it follows that there is, and was even before the transfer of the Government to the Queen, an actual existing guarantee, the Government to the QUEEN, an actual existing guarantee, not indeed in law but in substance, for the Indian debt.

The question now agitated is not whether we shall create, but whether we shall acknowledge, our liability for a debt which we well know we must see paid. It is not merely for the sake of openness and plain dealing, nor in the interests of India or of the Indian creditor, that such a declaration is desirable. tion is desirable; for, by rendering an immediate reduction of interest practicable, it would be equivalent to an immediate reduction of the contingent claim upon the Consolidated Fund. That Indian creditors would be allowed to demand their old rates of interest after accepting the declared guarantee of England is an idea which more than one speaker put into the mouth of imaginary opponents; but no states-man would frame a measure for the conversion of the Indian debt without providing for a reduction of interest equivalent to the improvement in the market character of the security. Thus, while the hands of India were strengthened, the ultimate liability of England would not only become more remote, but would be reduced to about two-thirds of its present amount. It can only be a question of time when a policy so obvious will be adopted; and the ventilation which the subject has received during the debates on the present loan Bill will possibly bring it to an issue when next the Indian Government may be in want of funds.

## LORD DERBY AND THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

THE PRIME MINISTER has paid this Journal the compliment of making its conduct the subject of comment in his place in the House of Lords. We have no reason to complain that we ourselves should be subjected to a criticism which we claim freely to exercise.

Cædimus, inque vicem præbemus crura sagittis.

We appeal to the same tribunal, and we shall be judged by the verdict of the same public opinion, by which Lord Derby must be tried. We, too, claim the judgment of our peers. Lord Derby complains that we are not sufficiently "laudatory" for his taste. We shall not bandy a tu quoque with "Scorpion Stanley." On the contrary, we quoque with "Scorpion STANLEY." On the contrary, we accept his description without resentment, and without shame. We will not praise what we do not approve. Journals, like individuals, must judge of their own duties in their own province. We do not question the sincerity or the patriotism of any newspaper that proposes to itself to promote the interests of a particular party, or to advocate the claims of individual politicians. Each man according to his own taste. All we have to say is, that these were not the views with which the Saturday Review was founded, nor is this the spirit in which, during the brief period of its existence, it has been conducted. Wedded to no party and engaged to no individual, we have proposed to ourselves the engaged to no individual, we have proposed to ourselves the single object of enforcing, according to the light of our judgment and the limits of our ability, the principles, whether of domestic or external policy, which we believe to be essential to the maintenance of the liberties and the greatness of our country. In maintaining the fixed ideas which every man who assumes to influence public opinion is bound to have formed for himself, we have known no distinction of persons, we have felt no fear, and we have shown no favour. If, in the performance of our task, it has been our lot to award more of cen-sure than of praise, it is because the function we have assumed is that of criticism, and not of partisanship. To complain of a critic because he is always criticising is as little reasonable as To complain of a to blame a judge because he is for ever condemning, or to find fault with a soldier because he is continually fighting. We do not know that Lord Derby has any special reason to com-plain of the hostility of this journal. Indeed, from the exceptional position of public affairs for the last twelve months, his Cabinet has received from us probably a larger amount of toleration than it would have been entitled to claim on its intrinsic merits. To us the approbation or the sneers of Lord Derby are alike indifferent. We have accorded our support to his policy when, as in the case of the Cagliari, it was consonant with the principles to which we adhere. We have condemned, and shall continue to condemn, adnere. We have condemned, and shall continue to condemn, transactions which, like the Portuguese negotiations, appear to us injurious to the interests and derogatory to the honour of England. No man can fairly say that the foreign policy of this journal has been characterized by want of consistency or precision. Any one may predict for himself what it is that we shall support, and what it is that we shall support and what it is that we shall attack. If our censures appear severe, and our condemnation unsparing, it must be remembered that the time in which we live is one of the most critical periods on which the

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Our Constitution is menaced by nation ever entered. unscrupulous agitators at home—the reputation of England abroad is endangered by the cowardice of her public men. We live in days when a Tory Minister flatters a tyrant whose good faith he distrusts, and propounds Reform Bills in which he does not believe. We have never recognised success as a touchstone of truth, though, if we had done so, we should have no reason to shrink from such a test. We value no success but that of the principles for which we have contended.

Thus far we have not wanted our reward. Already that plague of servility to France which had infected our public men seems to be in some degree stayed. Even Lords PALMERSTON and CLARENDON only ventured to lend to their patron the aid of their silence in the Portuguese debate. The "good offices" which they are bound by the secret treaty of Compiègne to render to their host went no further than those of Lord Malmesbury—they did not think it safe to do more than beg that "the prosecution might be dropped." It is something gained to the character of the country that the flux of Ministerial sycophancy should have been checked. It is much that Lord John Russell (who, to do him justice, has never Philippized) should have avowed in the House of Commons the unquestionable truth that "this "country has not at Paris that influence which a faithful "ally ought to possess, and which the Government of so powerful a country as Great Britain ought to have with "one who professes to wish for her welfare, and to "regard her friendship." This sentence sums up the result of all the cringing and all the insincerity against which we have so earnestly protested. It is a result which the press has long predicted, and which politicians are now compelled to confess. We agree to ourselves up reculiar share pelled to confess. We arrogate to ourselves no peculiar share in the honour of the arduous but victorious battle which journalism has maintained for the honour of England, so dangerously compromised by the cowardice of her public men. We have fought as common soldiers in the ranks, shoulder to shoulder, with our comrades. It is the free press of England which has saved, not only this country, but Europe, from the danger with which they were menaced by the timidity of politicians and the insincerity of diplomatists. The public opinion of England has found in the press the voice which its statesmen dared not give to the sympathies of a free people and the pride of a great nation. We are taunted people and the pride of a great nation. We are taunted because we have no favourite—because our censure has been abundant, and our praise has been scant. with sincerity and with regret, that we would it could be otherwise. But is this a misfortune peculiar to the Saturday Review? Where is the great man to whom Parliament is ready to accord its support, or in whom the nation is prepared to repose its confidence? We have fallen on the days of little men. We cannot create giants at our country's need, and we will not worship dwarfs. There remain to us, howand we will not worship dwarfs. There remain to us, however, if not great men, at least great things. The traditions we have received from our fathers, the liberties which we have inherited, the institutions which have descended to us, the principles in which we were bred, and the sympathies to which we were born—these yet remain. That of these things we have spoken ill, it shall never be in Lord Derry's power to say. That we have struck without fear and without remorse at those who have dishonoured or betraved them. power to say. That we have struck without fear and without remorse at those who have dishonoured or betrayed them, in whatever rank or whatever party, we hold to be no reproach.

### THE EVIL OF DOING ONE THING AT A TIME.

DURING the Russian war, an almost universal cry was raised for gun-boats. When that war was ended a reraised for gun-boats. When that war was ended a reduction of expenditure was demanded with nearly equal vehemence. At the present moment, the thoughts of the country are fixed upon the instantaneous creation of a powerful fleet of screw line-of-battle ships. But if ships are built in a hurry they must be costly and short-lived; nor is it possible, by any amount of alamous and the received. which King David appointed for Uriah.

It is not to be supposed that the Board of Admiralty have been left absolutely without warning of the results which have flowed from their neglect. There must exist "subit possible, by any amount of clamour and the most profuse expenditure of public money, to accomplish within a twelvementh what ought to have been the work of years. Even if we had the ablest and most energetic Administration and the most open-handed House of Commons, we must nevertheless submit for some time longer to the mortifying sense of inferiority in naval strength to our nearest neighbour. But the lesson thus taught us may, if kept in mind, prove valuable in future time; and therefore it appears desirable, although the subject is not a pleasant one, to point out that successive Governments are not alone responsible for the present unsafe condition of our coasts and

trade, but that the press and the public must also share the

If, during the excitement of the war with Russia, anybody If, during the excitement of the war with Russia, anybody had been bold enough to suggest that the building of screw line-of-battle ships ought not to be interrupted, he would have been looked upon as a fool, or, if a member of Lord Abendeen's Government, as a traitor who was seeking to paralyse his country's efforts. Gun-boats, it was again and again declared, were the one thing needful, and as Lord Palmerston had been made Premier to "carry on the war "with vigour," his Board of Admiralty built gun-boats enough to place their beiligerent intentions beyond all dispute. We were such good friends with France that the Channel might be left unguarded; or according to extreme Channel might be left unguarded; or, according to extreme enthusiasts, gun-boats were its best possible protection. The secret of success in common life is, as everybody knows, to do one thing at a time, and the Administrative Reform Association was formed to compel Governments to adopt the Association was formed to compel Governments to adopt the methods approved in the factory and the counting-house. Unhappily, peace was made before the flotilla of gun-boats had had time to annihilate the Russian batteries. Then came retrenchment, and now the very persons who would have told us three years ago that building large ships was mere blind waste of money are in paroxysms of patriotic rage because we have not an efficient Channel Fleet. The French, it appears, observing how eager we were for building gun-boats, left that portion of the operations of the Alliance for the most part in our hands, and quietly proceeded to construct the most powerful men-of-war they could, instead of concentrating all the resources they possessed upon the vigorous prosecution of a war which they very reasonably considered might not be the last in Europe. They have steadily acted upon the old-fashioned belief that the dominion of the seas must rest with the possessor of the strongest fleet; and we now find ourselves compelled to own that dodging about in gun-boats will not suffice to maintain that superiority which we once held at sea, but that it can only be won, and kent by constant readings. be won and kept by constant readiness for a fair stand-up fight with any one who may be disposed to challenge us. Thus we are forced suddenly to discard our improved theories of naval warfare, and to imitate the example of our competitors with a precipitation which is neither cheap nor creditable.

It is very unfortunate that the faculty of looking more than an inch beyond one's nose should be thus monopolized by despotic Governments, and that we should ourselves be always so intent upon doing one thing well as to leave un-done something else which we soon find to have been equally important. Our own rulers, it may be owned, neither are, nor are likely to be, men of profound wisdom; but the deepest political sagacity must be unavailing so long as the public and the press are ever ready, in some bellicose or economical frenzy, to question and overrule its dictates. Prudent counsels are of little value without firmness of pur-pose to carry them into effect, and moral courage, again, is pose to carry them into effect, and moral courage, again, is of the least practical account in government without a compact majority to support it. But as wisdom and firmness are rare in Cabinets, and the days of organized party government seem to have ended, it becomes the duty of the press to take a broader view than has been its wont of questions upon which the very existence of the country may depend. The short-sighted conduct of the leading journals during and after the Russian war has contributed very much to reduce England to her present insecure and dishonourable position; and if there had not of late been signs of a more enlarged and truly patriotic spirit, it would only be simple justice, in case of a naval war, to man the flotilla of gun-boats with the staff of the daily papers, and prefer them to the post which King Davin appointed for Urahr.

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formidable enemy he can have to face. But a naval officer is apt to think that a French admiral in command of an overwhelming fleet is more to be apprehended than even the sharpest opposition of Mr. W. WILLIAMS. If the subject were not so very serious it would be really laughable to observe the undignified figure England makes now that her want of an adequate naval power has been fairly realized by the public mind. The maxim that a nation should treat its friends as if they might one day become its enemies, is a very ancient one. Indeed, it is so old that we ought not, per-haps, to feel surprise at its having been so generally forgotten by our popular instructors during and after the Russian war. It must be owned that our allies in that contest did not forget the other half of the rule, but behaved to their enemies as if they might at some time, and perhaps very soon, become their friends. Nor did the French EMPEROR, in any moment of enthusiasm for our alliance neglect those plain rules of policy which only popular Governments have the temerity to disregard. If we expect to enjoy in the fullest measure at once all the blessings of peace and all the honours of war, we shall be disappointed. Continental Governments maintain vast armaments, and their subjects, we suppose, are capable of appreciating their own small share of the grandeur thus exhibited to the world. It is to be hoped at least that they relish glory, for no statesman pretends to suppose that it is his business to secure their comfort. Here at home, however, it is required of Ministers that they at home, however, it is required of Ministers that they should endeavour so to shape their policy that every citizen may be able at once to eat and to brag as much as he lists. Now the task thus imposed is very difficult, and it is best for the nation to make up its mind that at least partial failure may result from attempting it. If we choose, for example, to plunge suddenly into war after many years of peace, and to spend our small and slowly formed army in invading a great military Power, we must be prepared in no long time to hear of a "thin red line" defending the position we have so boldly occupied. For our own part, we quite believe that the defence would prove successful; but it is not the less important to denounce those too-potent influences the less important to denounce those too-potent influences which first urge the most audacious enterprises, and then raise an unmanly clamour when they find into what a scrape they have helped to bring us.

We say, then, that the present unprotected state of this populous and wealthy country, and of its enormous trade, has been brought about by a disregard of the plainest rules of national policy, at once by the Government, the people, and the most influential portion of the press. We leave Ministers and leaders of Opposition to apportion amongst themselves the heavy weight of blame which belongs collectively to them all. But the leaders of political parties are not alone responsible for all that has been done and left undone during the last seven years. Suppose that Sir Charles Wood had stated in the House of Commons, in the year 1855 or 1856, that he was convinced of the immediate necessity of laying down half-a-dozen first-rate ships, only imagine the storm of obloquy that would have been raised. Just think of the popular instructors sitting down with a copy of his speech before them to compose, with unusual zest, their leaders for next day's issue. Of course we know quite well that a follower of Lord Paragraphy of Lord Paragraphy. lower of Lord PALMERSTON entertains only moderate and welldisciplined convictions, and that it is an extravagance to suppose that his patriotism would ever jeopardize his place. But why should all, or nearly all, the influences which operate upon public men be combined to deter them as much as possible from adopting a sagacious and comprehensive policy? We seem always destined to live from hand to mouth. If a naval administrator should be bold enough to propose any far-sighted provision for contingencies which it may be important to keep in mind, but most inexpedient to discuss portant to keep in mind, but most inexpedient to discuss, some rival is sure to be at hand to clip and pare away every item for which an immediate necessity cannot be shown. We know, indeed, that money liberally granted is sure to be recklessly expended; and it is a melancholy truth that our present feebleness has been caused quite as much by injudicious outlay as by unseasonable thrift. Let us improve the naval administration in every way; but when we have done all we can do to ensure efficiency and economy, we shall still very often have to complain that we do not get our full money's worth. People of sanguine dispositions are prepared at any moment to see such vessels as the Napoleon entirely superseded in naval warfare by improvements in ship-building and in gunnery. On the Continent there prevails an expectation of a sort of golden age, in which, through the discoveries of science, seamanship shall go for nothing,

and bravery for very little, and so the race which has been so long pre-eminent for naval skill and valour shall cease to possess any special qualification for holding the dominion of the scas. Immense progress has undoubtedly been made in the construction of long-range guns, and the courage of Bob Acres, who could fight best when his enemy was out of sight, seems likely to become more available than it has hitherto been found in war. But until these improvements shall have been completed, such vessels as the Napoleon seem likely to give victory to that side which owns the greatest number of them. We must, therefore, cheerfully consent to see all the private ship-builders make their fortunes out of the national extremity—to see every load of unseasoned and indifferent timber in the country bought up for the building of men-of-war—to see sailing three-deckers cut down and fitted with screws, and sailing frigates sawn asunder and lengthened at the bow and at the stern to receive engines. All this may be exceedingly disagreeable, but it must be done, and we had best do it quietly, and without exaggerating the danger, as has been done at other times, for the sake of a rhetorical effect. The process will be very costly, but if those who once undertook to persuade the nation that a line-of-battle ship had become as useless as a war-chariot should learn foresight and moderation from their past errors, the money will not have been spent in vain.

### THE ITALIAN EXILES.

POPULAR feeling is often just, and almost always generous, but it can scarcely be expected to balance, to discriminate, or to distribute blame and applause with impartiality among the different representatives of a common cause. English sympathy for Italy has of late been rudely checked by causes wholly unconnected with the permanent struggle of a noble nation against irrational oppression. If the exiles who have unexpectedly landed in Ireland should be disappointed in their expectations of an enthusiastic reception, they must attribute the apathy of the country to the same august will which has recently thought fit to derange all the material interests and moral relations of Europe. It is, however, highly desirable to remember that POERIO and his companions are not the less martyrs of liberty and of order because a despotic ruler has attempted to make the sufferings of Italy a pretext for the commencement of a general war. The King of NAPLES is the virtual accomplice of every conspirator or conqueror who finds in existing misgovernment an excuse for aggression and for violence.

government an excuse for aggression and for violence.

The arrival of the Neapolitan prisoners is one of the most curious events during a generation fertile in materials for historical romance. Ten or twelve years since, Dr. Arnold, generalizing from recent experience, propounded the opinion that history was over—or, in other words, that nothing remarkable was likely henceforth to happen. Since that time, startling revolutions, successful conspiracies, wars, and changes of dynasty, have almost surfeited the popular appetite for change and excitement, but there is still novelty in the termination of a great political crime by a melodramatic personal adventure. The absurdity and childishness of the determination to send the Neapolitan prisoners to the United States probably resulted from the King's desire to prolong the torture of his victims even after they had escaped from his immediate control. It was scarcely worth while to postpone by three months any danger which might be supposed to arise from the presence of the unarmed exiles in Europe; but it was satisfactory to believe that one or two might possibly die on the voyage, and at the worst that the whole number would inevitably be sea-sick. The spite of the tyrant has been baulked by the resolution of the passengers and by the dramatic intervention of a spirited young sailor. If it is true that young Settemberial, after embarking as an ordinary seaman, suddenly presented himself on deck in the uniform of an officer, the scene must have resembled those occurrences in plays and novels which are ordinarily contrasted with the events of real life. The American captain must have found himself in a position at once embarrassing and ludicrous, when he was required to violate the contract by which he had bound himself for the voyage to perform the duties of a Neapolitan turnkey. Sympathizing, perhaps, with his prisoners, and yet bent on earning and especially on receiving his freight, he may probably have referred to the bill of lading by which he acknowledged hims

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exceptions of "the act of God, the [people's] enemies, "fire, and all dangers of navigation," would perhaps not include the disinclination of the cargo to proceed on its voyage; and the desire of the skipper to fulfil his contract must have been farther stimulated by the circumstance that only a part of the freight was prepaid. Not being familiar with American views of maritime law, the passengers wisely deferred their resistance till the Neapolitan frigate had cast off her tow-ropes; but an interesting question might have arisen if a capture had been attempted while they were under the protection of the stars and stripes. Their irregular assumption of freedom may possibly have approached to one of those violations of law which come under the comprehensive title of piracy; but it is not likely that the American Consul at Cork will institute a prosecution which would give rise to some troublesome questions, and certainly terminate in an acquittal. If the passengers had no legal authority to take possession of the ship, the captain had not the smallest right to take them on board with the intention of restraining their liberty. The office of denouncing their crimes may safely be entrusted to the zeal of the loyal Neapolitan journals. The disappointment of the Royal invalid when he hears that his former Minister is no longer tossing on the Atlantic will be assuaged by the opportunity of denouncing

the banished traitor as a bloodthirsty pirate.

In England, the victims of unparalleled perfidy and cruelty can scarcely fail to receive a cordial welcome. A body of unsuccessful rebels might perhaps command greater popu-larity with the mob; but the exiles of Naples are innocent legally as well as morally, and they have been convicted through perjured evidence tendered by the Government to judges who scarcely affected to conceal their own complicity. The lapse of nine years has not obliterated the recollection of the iniquities which Mr. GLADSTONE held up to the detestation of mankind, and the circumstances of the Cagliari prosecution have recently revived the impression of the streeting which was practiced in the National Control of the control of atrocities which are practised in the Neapolitan prisons. The unrelenting tyrant who has cut off from the sufferers so The unrelenting tyrant who has cut off from the sufferers so large a portion of their lives, will, in all probability, escape from human justice; but it is well that he should know before he dies that his prisoners are welcomed and honoured in England. Some of the number have performed real service to their country; others are respectable in character, and moderate in their political conduct; and all may claim the consideration which is due to those whom the worst of reaching heave treated as irreconciliable grouping. Although mankind have treated as irreconcileable enemies. Although they are no longer subjected to imprisonment and torture, the lot of the exiles must at the best be far from enviable. Needy, and in a strange country, with their nerves shattered by imprisonment and illness, they have little to enjoy in their present condition except the escape from actual persecution. The more enterprising of the body will probably soon find their way to Piedmont, where they will, to a certain extent, be at home. It is barely possible that political changes may in course of time restore them to Naples itself, but crime is often triumphant during long periods, and there is no apparent prospect of an improvement in the political condition of their country.

The oppression practised on Poerio and his companions

is the principal reason of the determination which has long excluded Naples from all friendly relations with England and France. A diplomatic excommunication is the strongest form of censure which can be applied to a Government without resort to actual force; and the King of Naples perhaps owes his escape from coercion to the jealousies which might have been excited by the claims of a French pretender. International law must be content to modify its strictness when minor potentates exaggerate the misdeeds of their more powerful neighbours, relying in the last resort on foreign protection. The release of the prisoners, with all its attendant circumstances of malignity and meanness, is a tribute to the general indignation which the King of NAPLES has long set at defiance. Diplomacy has so often interfered for the suppression of popular rights that it ought not to lose the credit which it may deserve if, in any instance, it has mitigated the operation of Royal inhumanity.

## DEBTORS AND CREDITORS.

THE object of nine-tenths of the civil law of every country is to make men pay their just debts. Actions and suits, judgments and executions, bankruptcy and insolvency proceedings, are different varieties of compulsion by which the law endeavours, often vainly enough, to enforce the performance

of this obvious duty. The LORD CHANCELLOR'S Debtor and Creditor Bill is an attempt to remodel the process, with the view of improving the creditor's remedy and of mitigating the severity to which debtors more unfortunate than cul-pable are occasionally subjected. There is a perfect chaos of opinion as to the principles on which such legislation should be result if the Chancellor had listened to the advice of Lord CAMPBELL and Lord Overstone, who pressed him to refer his Bill to a Select Committee. But Lord Chelmsford, with the naïveté that is peculiar to him, admitted that his desire to carry some bill outweighed his anxiety to make his measure as nearly as possible perfect, and would hear of no delay. It is not very difficult to point out defects in the existing law, and Lord CHELMSFORD'S scheme has certainly hit some of the more obvious blots. But several of its most important provisions are indefensible on any principle, and will, we hope, not be suffered to become law without very material improvement. The three primary objects of every material improvement. The three primary objects of every debtor and creditor code must be to compel the solvent debtor to pay, to ensure a fair and equal distribution of the property of those who cannot pay in full, and to punish all who have fraudulently incurred debts without the intention or without the means of paying them. Lord Chelmspron's paying them. Bill introduces radical changes in the machinery for effecting

each of these three ends. There are but two ways in which payment of a debt can be enforced. One is by empowering the creditor under legal authority to help himself out of his debtor's property. The other is to put some pressure upon the debtor—call it punishment, torture, or what you will-and thereby to bis friends to pay a ransom for his deliverance. The law, as it stands, gives the creditor the option of resorting to either method. He may have his execution against lands or goods, or he may, if he prefers it, apply the requisite torture by incarcerating his enemy and awaiting the result. This last method was no doubt once very efficacious, except in the case of men who had neither money nor friends, or whose peculiar tastes made the interior of a debtor's prison a congenial place of abode. But modern humanity was shocked to see imprisonment for life inflicted as the penalty for having an empty purse; and the Insolvency Code was accordingly framed to enable any imprisoned debtor to recover his liberty on the terms of giving up all his property for the benefit of his creditors. Successive statutes have gone further in the same direction, and have enabled any insolvent debtor to escape a threatened imprisonment by making a similar disclosure of his property before falling into the hands of a creditor bent upon making him captive. Imprisonment for debt has thus become a mere preliminary process to force a debtor to come into the Insolvent Court and deliver up all that he may possess for distribution among his creditors. This is obviously a very clumsy contrivance. If a man can be brought into court without the previous imprisonment, it is quite unnecessary to imprison him in the first instance. Twenty years ago, the recognised way of compelling a defendant to appear to an action against him was first of all to shut him up in prison. This barbarous practice has been abolished except in the one case where there is reason to believe that the debtor is about to abscond; and what Lord CHELMSFORD now proposes is to apply the same principle to the power of imprisonment after judgment which is used as a means of driving a man who cannot pay his debts into the Insolvent Court. Instead of locking him up and waiting till he applies to the Court for relief, it is proposed that the creditor shall have power to summon him there, and that preliminary incarceration shall only be permitted when the debtor is believed to contemplate flight. All the legitimate objects of imprisonment will thus be obtained. The debtor will be examined by the Court as to his property, which will be seized for the benefit of his creditors, and imprisonment will be inflicted only in case he should refuse to make disclosure of his effects, or should be proved guilty of fraud. The principle of this important change in the law is to make the deprivation of liberty a punishment to be inflicted at the discretion of a Court, and to prohibit it as an instrument of torture to be used at the discretion

of an individual creditor.

With this part of the Bill we cordially concur. The second novelty that it contains is almost a necessary corollary of imprisonment for debt. There was once a theory that all traders who became bankrupt were to be considered, at any rate until the contrary was proved, as innocent victims of commercial misfortune. But if any one whose livelihood did not depend upon buying and selling became unable to pay what he owed, it was assumed as not less a matter of course that he was a pestilent member of society to whom no compassion ought to be shown. Recent experience has certainly not confirmed this favour-Recent experience has certainly not confirmed this favourable estimate of insolvent traders; and few persons who have studied the revelations of the Bankruptcy Court during the last few years will think that there is much to choose between an average bankrupt trader and an ordinary specimen of an insolvent nondescript. There are some few in both classes who may justly attribute their losses to misfortune, but there is no such marked distinction in harvester between the investments of the trading and noncharacter between the insolvencies of the trading and nontrading worlds as would justify entirely different treatment in the two classes of cases. At present, a bankrupt is simply deprived of all his property, and at the same time freed from all his debts; but an insolvent is not only compelled to divide all that he has, but is liable to be called on at any future time to give up every farthing he may afterwards acquire until his old creditors are paid in full. If this law were enforced, a whitewashed insolvent would be almost worse off than if he were consigned to prison, and the extreme severity of the law has in fact prevented the Court from applying it in ordinary cases. Lord Chelmsford's Bill does away with the distinction between bankruptey and insolvency, and makes the complete distribution of a debtor's property a satisfaction of all bygone debts, without regard to the circumstance of his being or not being engaged in trade. To this, again, we think no reasonable objection can

But here our commendation must end. The remainder of the Bill relates to the machinery by which insolvent estates are to be wound up, and in almost every particular the proposed alterations threaten to make the law still more objectionable than it is at present. The functions of the bankruptcy laws are twofold—to secure a fair division of the debtor's estate among his creditors, and to detect and punish any frauds of which the bankrupt may have been guilty. The second of these objects is one in which the public is as much concerned as in the punishment of a pickpocket or a house-breaker, and the present is certainly not a very fitting time for relaxing any of the checks upon commercial dishonesty. But a man whose house has been robbed is not expected to pay the expenses of convicting the thief, neither ought the creditors who have suffered by the roguery of a bankrupt to be saddled with the cost of penal proceedings against him in the Bankruptcy Court or elsewhere. The outery against the existing law is mainly due to the imposition of this tax upon the trading community. The remedy proposed on their behalf is simple enough—namely, to suppress all costly investigations with a view to punishment, and to entrust to the creditors themselves the administration of their debtor's estate. Lord Chelmsford's bill is framed with so much deference to these views as to throw almost every insolvent estate into the hands of the creditors alone, and to supersede bankruptcy proceedings by a process nearly identical with a private composition. No frauds would be exposed or punished, and such documents as British Bank reports and imaginary spelter-warrants might be freely issued without much fear of consequences. the same time honest creditors would be cheated of their fair share of a bankrupt's estate, which would seldom, if ever, be effectually realized or honestly divided without the control of official assignees, whose office was created expressly on account of the gross mal-administration of the old trade

The experience which most men of business must have had of compositions between a debtor and his creditors should be enough to condemn any scheme which would assimilate an ordinary bankruptcy to a private arrangement. Lord Overstone's graphic description of the real working of these private winding-up proceedings was not, we believe, at all too severe. They are always got up by a few important creditors, who are, from friendship or interest, anxious to get the debtor through his difficulties as easily as may be. The great bulk of the creditors are passively acquiescent—some because their time is better occupied than in looking up occasional bad debts, others because they dread publicity almost as much as the bankrupt himself. But there is always a body of creditors as hard to bring in as the Eatanswill electors who reserved their votes to the last hour of polling. A few of them are bought up by payment in full; others get bonuses and fraudulent preferences over the general

creditors; and after a world of trouble, and a host of transactions that will not bear the light, the efforts of the debtor's friends are crowned with success, and he is released from all his liabilities, and finds himself still in possession of an amount of assets which the Court of Bankruptcy would certainly not have spared. Some creditors like these compositions, because the chance of getting through on easy terms occasionally induces a debtor to wind up while he is yet able to pay a tolerable dividend. But the main reason of their preference is the monstrous expense of the Court of Bankruptcy; and we believe that the true remedy would be to relieve creditors from the costs of Bankruptcy administration so far as its penal functions are con-cerned, and not, as Lord CHELMSFORD proposes, to restore the abuses of private management, and to abrogate in great measure the salutary operation of the Court in upholding mercantile morality.

#### LEGAL EDUCATION.

THE subject of the education of students for the Bar is one of which the public can, perhaps, scarcely be expected to appreciate the full importance, but it is one which concerns interests far wider and less technical than most persons would at first sight imagine. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that we have learnt that a very important step has been taken towards increasing its efficiency. The existing system, as many of our readers are no doubt aware, is a curious compromise between two different plans. Formerly, no qualification whatever was redifferent plans. Formerly, no qualification whatever was required for admission to the Bar except that of having eaten a certain number of dinners at one of the Inns of Court; but about five years ago, a rule was made that no one should be called to the Bar unless he had either passed an examination, which was set on foot for the purpose, or attended two courses of five years ago, a rule was made that no one should be called to the Bar unless he had either passed an examination, which was set on foot for the purpose, or attended two courses of lectures on legal subjects. The alternative which was thus provided for candidates who did or did not wish to prove that they had qualified themselves for their profession was a singular one, no doubt; but, like many other compromises, one of the principles which it recognised was of much value, and the consequences of its recognition have, as far as they have gone, been most important. Five gentlemen of great ability were appointed to give the lectures which the students had the option of attending. No one can doubt that these lectures have been of the very highest advantage to those who have profited by them, or that the students who have been called to the Bar during the last few years have in many instances derived the greatest possible benefit from the means of education to which they have had access. It appears to have been felt by the Inns of Court that they were committed by the measures which they had taken, and which had succeeded so well, to go further, and a general Committee was accordingly appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the subject. Not long since they passed two resolutions, by the first of which it was provided that in future all persons intending to enter themselves as students at any Inn of Court should be required to pass a preliminary examination testing their acquaintance with the usual branches of a liberal education. The second resolutions with selves as students at any Inn of Court should be required to pass a preliminary examination testing their acquaintance with the usual branches of a liberal education. The second resolution made it obligatory on all persons called to the Bar to pass an examination which should ensure the possession of a certain amount of legal knowledge. These principles were not affirmed without a strenuous opposition on the part of a very powerful minority; and as the details of the scheme are not yet settled, it is both possible and probable that it may be entirely defeated unless public attention is directed to the question, and to the nature of the influences which may be brought to bear upon its final decision. final decision.

nature of the influences which may be brought to bear upon its final decision.

There are some points which are so clear that it is totally impossible for argument of any kind to make them clearer. The proposition that people are more likely to learn a difficult subject when they have than when they have not opportunities of being systematically taught, and inclination to avail themselves of those opportunities, may be included in this number. In every other learned profession, and in the lower branch of the legal profession, this proposition has long been recognised and acted on. No human being ever thought of abolishing test-examinations of candidates for orders or for the medical profession, and no ingenuity has ever been able to suggest the shadow of a reason for making any distinction in the case of barristers. That they would, as a rule, know more law if they were taught than they do now when there is no test or provision for their education, would appear to be self-evident. That it is of the highest public importance that they should be better taught is a less familiar proposition, and we will therefore attempt to illustrate and enforce it.

Of all the standing grievances which have exercised the patience of the English nation and tried the zeal of English philanthropists for many years past, there is none which has been so stubborn and in every way so intractable as the subject of law reform. A certain degree of progress has been made in the matter, but more remains to be done than any one but a lawyer could even conceive. These are facts which have obtained not only universal recognition, but even a well-established notoriety; yet the real practical obstacle in the way of the application of an efficient remedy is but very little understood. It is, however, a

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very simple matter when it is once pointed out. Experience, from the days of Bentham downwards, has abundantly proved that the law, by being neglected, has been brought into such a condition that it can only be reformed by lawyers. No one else possesses that amount of knowledge which will give any security that alterations in the law, however well judged in principle, may not be attended with practical inconveniences of so strange and unexpected a character as to do more harm than good. The law is like a house so old and so odd that it is almost equally difficult and dangerous to live in it, to repair it, or to pull it down; and every year, by adding new masses of statutes and decisions to the vast accumulation which already exists, increases the difficulty of remedying the numberless defects under which it labours, whilst it increases in precisely the same ratio the weight of the motives which call for some reform. The existing mode of legal education would appear (if any reason at all could be assigned for its existence) to have been framed for the express purpose of making it impossible to alter this state of things through the only agency by which it can be altered. Apart from the lectures and examinations which it is now proposed to extend, and which, if they exist at all, ought to be extended to all students alike, legal education at present is conducted through three channels—reading books, attending at the chambers of pleaders or conveyancers, and sitting in Court. Each of these three processes is chaotic beyond all imagination. To attempt to read law books at all is a hopeless business. They are not written to be read, but only nore or less elaborate indexes artfully contrived to look like books. No human ingenuity could enable any one, even with the assistance of superhuman energy, to extract anything like systematic conceptions either of law in general, or of English law in particular, from an English law library. If any Hercules were equal to that task he would nover accomplish it in less than a lon Train up a class of legal practitioners to feel the intricacies, anomalies, and contradictions of the law as blemishes, instead of clinging to them with that fond devotion which the present generation too frequently show for them, and the public will have a security for the efficient reform of the law infinitely more valuable than any which at present exists.

valuable than any which at present exists.

Such are the motives which we would urge in favour of holding the Inns of Court to the resolutions of their Committee. The necessity for dwelling upon the subject arises from the fact that the proposed measures interfere with a private interest, to which absolutely no favour is due. The private classes and public lectures of the existing readers—limited as their operation is by the compromise which we have referred to—supply those who have sense enough to avail themselves of the facilities which they afford, with such an excellent preparation for the more technical and practical part of their instruction (that which is acquired in a tutor's chambers), that students who pass from the reader's class-rooms to a conveyancer's or pleader's pupil-room bring with them a great deal of the knowledge which they formerly went there to acquire. They can, therefore, apply themselves at once to that training which is no doubt an indispensable initiation into the practical part of the profession; and the consequence of this is, that a single year's attendance is now sufficient in many cases where formerly two were reand the consequence of this is, that a single year's attendance is now sufficient in many cases where formerly two were required. In plain English, the tutor gets only 100 guineas instead of 200, and he naturally dislikes a system which deprives him of half of one of the most prolific sources of his income. This, whatever may be said to the contrary, is the real source of the unpopularity of all proposals to extend the existing system with many very influential members of the profession. Those who take pupils give a dear education and a bad one, and they naturally enough object to any one else who proposes to give a cheap and good one. The renunciation of all prospect of efficient law reforms is rather a high price to pay for the convenience of these gentlemen. nience of these gentlemen.

There is, however, another point of view from which the subject must be considered. If the Inns of Court do not educate people for the Bar, what is he use of them? They are notoriously and monstrously inefficient as a council of discipline. Jem the Penman was a barrister, and there are as dirty tricks played in Westminster Hall and at the Old Bailey as in

the offices of any attorney in London. They are either educational bodies or they are mere clubs for the Benchers, and clubs not of the most agreeable or distinguished kind. If they are disposed to take up in good faith, and with proper zeal, the task which they have so long neglected, no one will quarrel with them for being very anomalous bodies; but if they are both anomalous and useless, and glory in being so, they have, in this age of the world, a very fair chance of ceasing to be at all.

#### THE DEFENCES OF THE COUNTRY.

THE DEFENCES OF THE COUNTRY.

THERE is a parallel in the recent history of the army and the navy which ought to furnish statesmen with ample food for meditation. Within a very few years, two unwelcome discoveries have been made. In the height of a war that taxed our military resources to the utmost, it became all at once apparent that the organization of the army was radically defective. The price of the experience gained in the Crimea was the sacrifice of the thousands who died miserably in the trenches before Sebastopol, and in the hospitals at Scutari. We have it now on the best authority that the present organization of the Admiralty is at least as faulty as that of the army was before the Russian war revealed its infirmities, and prepared the way for future improvements. It is so far fortunate that the utter failure of the machinery by which the navy is administered has been detected before the outbreak of actual hostilities. But though we have lost no men, our fleet has been steadily wasting away, and the potential battle that is in us (if we may borrow a phrase from Mr. Carlyle) is relatively, if not absolutely, reduced to an alarming point. The Admiralty has acknowledged its short-comings in the past before they have borne fruit in positive disaster; but the comparative cheapness with which this experience seems as yet to have been gained may render the difficulty of effecting a thorough reform in the management of the navy even greater than it has proved in the corresponding case of the army. the navy even grease of the army.

difficulty of effecting a thorough reform in the management of the navy even greater than it has proved in the corresponding case of the army.

In moving the Army Estimates, General Peel was able to announce some progress in almost every essential particular. The soldier, he said, was better armed, better fed, better clothed, and better paid than he used to be. His moral and intellectual improvement was promoted by a variety of simple but effectual means. The new warrant by which the position of the medical officers is now regulated had already attracted men of a higher class into the service. The prevention of sickness among the troops would, in future, be attended to as a matter of not less importance than the treatment of disease. The Commissariat was re-organized on a system which would always provide the nucleus of a department capable of ready extension to meet the requirements of war. At last Aldershott and the Curragh were to be made real schools of campaigning life, and the whole system of provisioning the forces in time of peace was to be put on a more economical and effective footing. Some time must clapse before this remodelling of the army can bear its full fruits, but one symptom of the growth of a more wholesome spirit has already manifested itself in the alacrity with which the War Office has welcomed Sir William Armstrong's marvellous invention. Those who have at heart the efficiency of our hitherto neglected navy will do well to remember that the recent improvements in the organization of the army were not due to the spontaneous zeal of the authorities. Even after the disasters of the Crimea, and the fierce but ill-directed explosion of vengeance which followed, a Chelsea Commission could see nothing but causes beyond control, and official inertia was ready to relapse into the old ways that had proved so fatal. But for the determination of one man, we might have heard a Minister of War demonstrating the folly of rash innovation, instead of boasting of reforms which amount to nothing less than

away from another security of her own shores has become a matter of doubtful speculation.

The tone of the debates which have taken place on the subject is not reassuring. Notwithstanding Sir John Pakington's startling admissions, the House of Commons seems to have but half appreciated the real character of the emergency. Admiral Walcot is cheered when he bids us dispossess ourselves of the notion that our naval force is inferior to that of any other Power; and Mr. H. Baring finds consolation in the reflection that it is only in line-of-battle ships that the force of England is deficient. Not that even this is true, for France has fifteen more frigates than we possess; but if it were, it is a new thing to hear that England may be content to be outstripped, provided it is "only in line-of-battle ships." We have no fear of the result if the pressing duty of the Government, and scarcely less of the House of Commons, be but frankly recognised. But there is real danger in blind confidence, and though we have no objection to Admiral Walcot's magniloquent boasts that "England will be found equal to any crisis," and that "our shores will never be polluted by the foot of the invader," we hope that Parliament will remember that our past immunity has been secured, not by shouting Rule, Britannia,

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Whigs after d The que but by maintaining a fleet strong enough on occasion to face the combined navies of Europe. Sir John Pakington fortunately seems more alive to the necessity of unusual efforts than most of his critics in the House, but he has no eyes for anything but the deficiency of ships. His vote of seamen is insufficient to man the vessels now at his disposal, and no provision whatever has yet been made for strengthening the naval reserves. The recommendations of the Commission for Manning the Navy are disposed of with a vague promise of full and prompt consideration, coupled with the ominous remark that they are such as no Government could carry out on the instant; and the trifling increase of 3000 men on the deficient estimates of 1858 is put forward as a kind of adoption of the proposal to keep a body of 4000 seamen always ready to increase the force which may be actually wanted afloat. But that which chiefly shakes our confidence in the future is the tone in which the past is spoken of. There are some men who think that to acknowledge a debt is almost equivalent to paying it; and now that the Admiralty has pleaded guilty, by the mouth of Sir John Pakington, not only are past offences condoned at once—which may or may not be judicious at the present juncture—but it is forthwith taken for granted that the fleet has dwindled away without any fault on the part of any one, and that the neglect which is confessed is the best guarantee in the world for successful administration in future.

A certain amount of compliment on the part of a minister in speaking of his predecessors is not only admissible, but essential

ful administration in future.

A certain amount of compliment on the part of a minister in speaking of his predecessors is not only admissible, but essential for the smooth working of representative Government. But this sort of courteous hypocrisy becomes mischievous the instant that it is forgotten that it is used in any other than a Parliamentary sense. When Sir John Pakington tells us that the this sort of courteous hypocrisy becomes mischievous the instant that it is forgotten that it is used in any other than a Parliamentary sense. When Sir John Pakington tells us that the navy is in a state disgraceful to the country, that he himself has laboured with unremitting zeal to improve it, and that all his predecessors have done their duty nobly, one is rather puzzled to guess how it happens that the admirable exertions of a series of most efficient administrators have brought matters to such a pass. The sole purpose of the Board of Admiralty is to afford us at all times the protection of an adequate fleet, and in this purpose it has confessedly failed. The greater the ability and zeal of the presiding Ministers, the more glaring must be the defects in an organization which has broken down in such distinguished hands. To exonerate the administrators is, in fact, to condemn the system; and whether the origin of the mischief be in the personal incapacity of those who have directed it, in the unfitness of their subordinates, or, as we believe to be nearer the truth, in the impracticable constitution of the department, there is an equal need for inquiry, if we are to avoid in future even greater perils than those to which the Board of Admiralty has already exposed us. It is not till the whole mystery has been searched out that reform will be possible. Surely there must be some one who will do for the navy what Mr. Sidney Herbert has done for the army. If not, the case is yet more desperate than Sir John Pakington's facts have made it appear. A long series of First Lords of acknowledged talent have among them contrived to reduce the naval strength of England to about one half of what the safety of the country requires. A common Rule of Three sum, which we would rather not work out, would show in how many years a line of equally able successors would manage to destroy the remaining fragments of our once irresistible Fleet.

## THE PUBLIC MEETINGS.

WE have every reason to be thankful for the speeches made at the various suburban meetings which have been held during W the various suburban meetings which have been held during the past week against the Government Reform Bill. The interests represented at the Lambeth meeting, in the St. Pancras Vestry Hall, and at St. Martin's Hall, are sufficiently and creditably outspoken. We can generally understand politicians of Mr. D'Iffanger's mark. There is but little euphemism or conventional reticence in Mr. Roupell's constituents; and Mr. Ernest Jones has the orator's grace of being always clear and intelligible. We now know, not only from these places, but from Sheffield, Norwich, Newcastle, and Birmingham, what sort of Reform it is which alone will satisfy the opponents of the Government measure. It is no redistribution of seats, no lowering of the franchise, no representation of interests, whether of property, education, or intelligence, that is wanted. Manhood suffrage and the rights of the masses merely as numerical aggregates are the openly avowed watchwords. this is the only thing which the public meetings will be content the opponents of the Government measure. It is no redistribution of seats, no lowering of the franchise, no representation of interests, whether of property, education, or intelligence, that is wanted. Manhood suffrage and the rights of the masses merely as numerical aggregates are the openly avowed watchwords. This fact, at any rate, is thankworthy. The distinction is plainly and emphatically announced between the feelings embodied for the last Reform Bill and against the present. "The fight," says Mr. Saunders, at Sheffield, "in 1830, 1831, and 1832, was when the working-men helped the middle-classes to get the last Reform Bill on the promise that the middle classes would help to carry a Bill which would enfranchise the masses."

We do not remember such a promise or pledge, but it is on the faith of this bargain or understanding—so we are told—"that the Whigs were enabled to get a predominant influence in the House of Commons, and to obtain and keep possession of office." The masses drew a bill on Lord John Russell and the Whigs. That promissory note, to be paid twenty-seven years after date, the Whigs accepted, and are now called upon to pay. The question is, will they honour it? We are, we repeat it, grateful to the popular meetings for bringing this out. Mr.

Murrough "would admit within the constituency every man who contributed to the finances of the country; every fancy franchise was repugnant to the people; it was giving the franchise to bricks and mortar, or money in some shape or other, and not to the working man." The Whigs now know what is expected of them, and on what terms they are to succeed to office. Will they avow their policy in rejecting the Government measure as openly and honestly as the "masses" do? Unless they do this, Lord John Russell's motion is, like Lord Derby's Bill, a delusion. The masses—and this is an important fact to commend to Cambridge House—will no longer back the Whigs in a mere struggle for office. Unless Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston are prepared with the Tower Hamletizing ticket, they will not get the support of the Marylebone and Lambeth and Westminster constituencies. Unless their opposition to the Government scheme is substantially the same as that

Lambeth and Westminster constituencies. Unless their opposition to the Government scheme is substantially the same as that of Mr. W. Williams and Sir John Shelley, the move of the great Whig party is a sham. It is the meanest of all mean selfish struggles for office.

The question, then, for statesmen such as Lord John Russell, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and Lord Palmerston to decide, is whether they are prepared for manhood suffrage—whether they will adopt the naked numerical test—whether they are ready plainly to run the risk, or rather to incur the certainty, of making the House of Commons, as to its main component parts, an assembly of six hundred and fifty Coxes, and Edwin Jameses, and Roupells, and Williamses. It is one great benefit of the last Reform Bill that we know what manner of men the masses will return. The simple question for the middle classes, for property, for education, and for the general national interests to consider return. The simple question for the middle classes, for property, for education, and for the general national interests to consider is, not whether the Constitution would be safe—for the issue involves in its very assertion the fact of a new Constitution—but whether anything would be safe under a Tower Hamletized House of Assembly. If the great Whig leaders are not prepared for this, it is their plain duty, as politicians of character and men of moral honour, to disavow any such intention. And there is no middle course. The popular objections to the Bill now before Parliament are simplicity itself. The scheme is a sham and a delusion only because, as Mr. Ernest Jones, in very lucid language, admits, "any measure of Reform with a less extension of the franchise than registered manhood suffrage would be unsatisfactory to the people generally, and great injustice to all those who would be excluded." Unless Lord John Russell is prepared with a measure of this significant breadth and fulness, the blow which he is aiming at Lord Derby will soon be dealt upon himself. His Reform Bill will be equally "unsatisfactory," and equally "unjust."

the blow which he is aiming at Lord Derby will soon be dealt upon himself. His Reform Bill will be equally "unsatisfactory," and equally "unjust."

Is he prepared for such a measure? He and Lord Palmerston and the members of the late Government may rest assured that no mere transference of office, even though some crumbs of official patronage should be superciliously dealt out to the thirdrate Radical members in the shape of Under-Secretaryships and Chairmanships, will content the honest and outspoken orators of the popular meetings of the past week. Of course, it would be easy enough to appeal to the obvious argument of consistency. The tannt is urged, and not without force, of the immorality of a Tory Government bringing in a Reform Bill at all; and Mr. Henley and Mr. Walpole are not proof against it. But flagrant as this inconsistency on Lord Derby's part may be—and it is urged with no blunted point—it would be as nothing to the sacrifice of the convictions and professions of a whole life if Lord Palmerston and the old Whig party accept the only road to office which the Democratic meetings allow to be open to them. Where be now the time-honoured appeals to Lord Somers—where be the traditional invocations of the pious memories of Charles Fox, and Grey and Grenville, and the hallowed inspirations of Holland House? A septuagenarian owes some duties to his reputation. and Grey and Grenville, and the hallowed inspirations of Holland House? A septuagenarian owes some duties to his reputation. Lord John Russell's career—and we may, in general, say the same of Lord Palmerston's—is a page in English history which neither that history nor he whose name is written on it has any substantial reason to be ashamed of. Better for it and for him if it be not closed in an ugly and dishonouring blot; and blot it will be if he or Lord Palmerston takes office on the understanding that they are to stand sponsors for Mr. Bright's Reform Bill—because this is the only thing which the public meetings will be content with

Mr. Ernest Jones oppose the Government measure—so do Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. We have therefore a right to be assured on the point whether all these four authorities are starting from the same principles, and are agreed upon a substitute for Lord Derby's measure. It is of course the business, in the first place, of Mr. Bright and Mr. Jones to come to an understanding with their allies, and to force Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, if they are friends, to take sweet counsel with them as friends. And it is our affair, too. Neither we nor the people of England—a very different thing from Mr. Ernest Jones's horde of unaspirating Marylebone vestrymen and the demagogues of St. Martin's Hall—are in the least degree prepared to help Lord John to Downing-street till we have had a peep into his portfolio. We may have no very hearty liking to Lord Derby's carte, but before we sit down to table we must have the rival bill of fare. Unquestionably we shall have some very long and able speeches on Monday week. We take it for granted that there will be all sorts of able criticisms and funny dissections of the savings-bank franchise, and pathetic pictures of the one hundred thousand disfranchised freeholders howling in the public wailing-place over departed votes. Some of this may be just, and all of it can scarcely fail of being comical; but oratory and sarcasm, and the quotations from Lord Somers, will be beside, beyond, or below the very plain and condensed question—Is Lord John Russell prepared to bring in Mr. Bright's Bill, "the good Bill, the true Bill, or no Bill at all?" All else in the coming orations will be very immaterial both to the politicians of the suburban meetings and to ourselves.

### CONGREVE'S SERMON ON POSITIVISM.

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THE religion of Positivism has been formally inaugurated among us, and the great church and worship of humanity is actually at work. The first altar—"sacred desk" is, we believe, the true phrase—of this new religion was set up on the 10th of January, in South Fields, Wandsworth, and the inaugural sermon preached on that occasion has been published under the title of "The New Religion in its Attitude towards the Old, by Richard Congreve." Mr. John Chapman is the publisher, and the price, one shilling, is moderate. We have stated the historical fact in the vernacular language—we might have been more precise by fixing the date of this sermon according to the Positivist Calendar, as "Wednesday, 19th Moses, 71." We have a preliminary difficulty as to this date 71, nor are we clear about the Comtian Genesis; and as it appears that the Prophet of Humanity, Auguste Comte, was born on 19th January, 1798—hence the epoch selected for the British organization and Mr. Congreve sermon—wecannot quite understand how the regeneration began ten years before Comte was. However, the year 1 synchronizes with the secular A.D. 1788, and Mr. Congreve in his sermon (page 9) points to the existence, "ten years before Comte's birth, of a feeling in the European world," which, we suppose, was of sufficient, though mysterious, importance to authenticate the convocation of the States General in 1788, as the real beginning of the Church of Humanity. Be this as it may, the world is ten years older than Auguste Conte—which we should searcely have expected, he being clearly the Alpha of creation.

We do not propose to enter upon a criticism of Mr. Congreve's somewhat dull discourse. We shall, perhaps, do better if we attempt some description of what the New Religion, now formally inaugurated, professes to be. "Religion," we say, because it is quite an error to criticise Positivism as a mere philosophy. As a philosophy, Comtism may have its intellectual adherents. Miss Martineau, in some particulars Mr. Rongreve

seems, to a little flock. The Positivist Church at Wandsworth has not emerged from the wilderness. "Our small number makes speaking difficult." Fit audience, however, Mr. Congreve assumes, though few. "Where there are disciples or members, however limited their number, there is a church,"—a sentiment

by the way, borrowed from Tertullian, who fixes the minimum at three. How many more met on the famous 19 Moses, anno Comtii 71, in the Wandsworth Temple of Humanity, we are not informed; but Mr. Congreve asserts on behalf of his co-religionists—"We have a faith, the outlines of a ritual, and sufficient members." We endeavour to supply from other sources what these or some of them are, in order that we in England may understand something of the last and splendid addition to the extant religions of the world.

Mr. Congreve is quite right in characterising his profession as a religion. In all that makes religion objective, as he would say, the Church of Humanity is more churchish than the Church. It has three orders of the ministry, nine sacraments, and a calendar so replete with impartial hagiology (ranging from Orpheus to Captain Cook), that every day is a Saint's day. Three periods of daily private prayer are enjoined; Humanity is worshipped; the guardian angel under the form of the triple female influence of mother, wife, and daughter, is worshipped; the dead are worshipped. Mr. Congreve regrets that the first day of the year, the epoch of the more abstract conclave of humanity in general, had not been selected for the inauguration of his English Church of Humanity; but he consoles himself with the reflection that "we worship Humanity in and through her noblest servant and organ, Auguste Comte—our master, teacher, and guide." Not that Auguste Comte stands alone. With him, in the piety of Positivism, must ever be associated "Clotilde de Vaux, his wife, his mother, and his adopted daughter," who, it is satisfactory to be assured, still lives "in the singular beauty of that lofty yet self-denying and humble love to him, and not to him only, but towards all who share the faith" of the Prophet-Priest of Humanity.

Mr. Congreve does not, we think, look very hopefully to the future, when he observes that "it is not very likely to occur that

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only, but towards all who share the faith" of the Prophet-Priest of Humanity.

Mr. Congreve does not, we think, look very hopefully to the future, when he observes that "it is not very likely to occur that there should be at present a call for the administration of the indispensable sacraments, Presentation and Marringe;" and certainly, considering the large demands made upon the disciples of the Church of Humanity upon their faith, purses, and obedience by their spiritual pastors and masters, we share in his forebodings as to the rare calls which are likely to be made upon his ministrations among ourselves. Still it must be satisfactory to Postulants or Neophytes, if Posivitism has any British Proselytes of the Gate, to be assured that Mr. Congreve "has the power to administer the sacraments." People will therefore be anxious to know what the religion is which Mr. Congreve profers. The spiritual history of the Humanitarian from birth to the grave, or rather beyond it, to the period in which the objective is swallowed up in the subjective—that is, from birth to deification—consists in passing through nine sacraments, nine stages and preparations, by which "the worthy servant of Humanity proceeds in an unbroken series to the subjective eternity which constitutes him the organ of the Divinity we worship."

The first sacrament is "Presentation." In this, the new scion of humanity is presented to the priesthood by two pairs of parents—the natural parents, and an artificial couple, adopted from the sponsorship of Christianity. But this is not all. The neophyte is inaugurated by being further placed under the spiritual tutelage of two patrons, whose names he bears—one selected from the theoretical, one from the practical, servants of humanity. The humanitarian's full bead-roll of names in the next generation, would be perhaps Confucius Columbus Comte Congreve. The second Sacrament is called Luitation, and takes place at four-viage. But now occurs a complexity. In the case of humanity. The humanitarian's full bead-rol the sixth and seventh Sacraments the whole objective life is to be passed, on which depends man's subjective immortality. At sixty-three comes the grand climacteric, and a climacteric Sacrament in its hand; and M. Comte and the officials who have drawn up the superannuation clauses in the Civil Service Bill—is there no Comtian element at work in that subtle legislation? let Spooner and Newdegate look to it—agree in an-

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will s wrath nouncing the sacrament of Retirement. This seventh Sacramental stage may well be saluted as most august, though we doubt whether Lord Palmerston or Lord John Russell are prepared for a religion which requires the citizen atatis sua, 63, "of his own free

nouncing the sacrament of Retirement. This seventh Sacramental stage may well be saluted as most august, though we doubt whether Lord Palmerston or Lord John Russell are prepared for a religion which requires the citizen actatis suae, 63," of his own free will to renounce active life, as his active powers are exhausted, and to nominate his successor, 'henceforth only to assist Humanity as chamber counsel—the rich having divested themselves of all their superfluous wealth, receiving only a modest competency for personal wants in the closing evening of life. As to the eighth Sacrament, Transformation, it is a mere imitation of Extreme Unction "divested of list horrors." The final sacrament of Incorporation is a post mortem baptism of the dead, very like the process known as Beatification in the Catholic Church. It takes place seven years after death, and is a process, we suppose, with an official somewhat akin to the avocato det diaxolo. It is entirely in the hands of the priesthood. If the inquiry into the virtues of the departed is successful, the holy relies of the sanctified are translated with solema pomp from the plebeian "burial-place of the city to the Sacred Grove which surrounds the Temple of Humanity;" while the wretched corposes of the condemned "are consigned to the waste place of the reprobate, amongst suicides, duellists, and those executed by the funds of justice." Women, we ought to observe, being only inchoate angels— as all Frenchmen must hold—are excluded from public life, which will hardly recommend Positivism to Miss Bessie Rayner Parkes; and we must add that a true Positivist marriage implies the law of perpetual widowhood.

As to the public worship of Positivism we regret to find that not only is its Liturgy, on the principle of the Disciplina Arcani, withheld from us—which is scarcely fair, as Mr. Congreve says that the Wandsworth Church has a ritual—but that its architecture is at present of the future. The wants of the social organization will, however, we are assured, develope one day accepted by the four patriarchs. When the whole world becomes Positivist, it is calculated that the hieratical caste will be one hundred thousand strong, at the rate—which argues a scanty provision of spiritual food—of one priest to every six thousand—we had almost said souls, but neither name nor thing occurs in the Positivist Philosophy. The priesthood is not to possess any personal property; but it has strong powers of discipline. It is invested (1), with remonstrance in fore domestice; (2) public condemnation in the Temple of Humanity; (3) with excommunication from society, either temporary or eternal. This last places a man absolutely under the worst form of interdict; "there will be occasions in which a man may see all his friends drop off, and, in spite of his wealth, as no one will hold any converse with him, he may be reduced to provide himself his own food." Nor, in the long run, can he escape, like the Neapolitan fugitives to some Queenstown, or heterodox City of Refuge which has not yet adopted the Positive faith. For, as M. Comte remarks, with a glowing anticipation of the splendid completeness of the Positivist's Power of the Keys, "ultimately even this refuge will be closed, as it is certain that the faith will spread over the whole earth." With this sublime picture of the triumphs of ceumenical Positivism and of its day of wrath in the person of its final Cain, we may appropriately close our sketch of the religion which Mr. Congreve has tendered to the acceptance of the British gentleman in search of a religion.

## REVIEWS.

### SIR EDWARD LYTTON'S NOVELS.\*

IKE several other popular novelists, Sir Edward Lytton is trying the experiment of publishing a cheap edition of his books, and of thus challenging criticism upon his career considered as a whole. The articles of a frequent contributor to a review, once very popular, were ill-naturedly described by one of his collaborateurs as standing in the same relation to the productions of his associates as machine-made lace occupies towards hand-made lace. The comparison was as happy as (let us charitably hope) it was unjust. It might, we think, with the strictest justice have been applied to Sir Edward Lytton's novels. They claim to be a sort of ultimate result of human wisdom, and may pass on the unwary for the product of Brussels or Valenciennes; but it is impossible to look into them carefully without seeing that they really come from Nottingham. They are a superior article of their kind, but they are not the real thing. not the real thing.

not the real thing.

The mere popularity—especially when we remember that it has been durable as well as extensive—which Sir Edward Lytton's novels have obtained would prove conclusively that their author was a very clever man. Indeed, no one can doubt that he is so; but, to use his own curious dialect, between The Clever and The Great there is often an impassable gulf. The language perhaps does not contain any single word which exactly describes his intellectual rank. If it did, that word would occupy a middle position between Jack-of-all-trades and Humbug. The general impression which his books give is one which is conveyed by the careers of several distinguished men in the present day—namely, that he is a man who has passed his life in gratifying the double appetite of vanity and versatility. For about thirty years he has been occupied in telling the world, in a variety of forms, how very clever he is. "You see before you, ladies and gentlemen, a man of the world, a gentleman of rank, an excellent novelist, a brilliant pamphleteer, a profound philosopher, a deep scholar, a politician, and [in a a gentleman of rank, an excellent novelist, a brilliant pamphleteer, a profound philosopher, a deep scholar, a politician, and [in a lower tone, towards the close of the address] a Christian Conservative as regards both this world and the next." We see no reason to doubt that some at least of these assertions are true enough; but, in the age in which we live, they are mutually destructive. Knowledge, in our days, is too large for any man to be an Admirable Crichton. To attempt to combine in one marvellous whole pre-eminence in literature, metaphysics, and politics, is, under the most favourable circumstances, no more than a recipe for converting oneself into a literary, logical, and political Jack Pudding. A clever man may show that he might politics, is, under the most favourable circumstances, no more than a recipe for converting oneself into a literary, logical, and political Jack Pudding. A clever man may show that he might have distinguished himself in either of these pursuits, but he will also infallibly produce nothing better than Nottingham lace in any one of them. Our concern at present is only with Sir Edward Lytton's literary career; and we will attempt to show the justice of our estimate of his novels by a few observations on their most salient points. most salient points.

There is one element of novel-writing of which Sir Edward Lytton has shown himself to be, if not a master, at least one who might, if he had taken close measure of his powers, have become a master; and that is the art of constructing a plot and telling a striking story—the elements of fiction in which English novelists most frequently break down, and which are perhaps more important than any others. Almost every novel of Sir Edward Lytton's which we remember contains an excellent story, the interest of which is developed with remarkable skill. In Ernest Maltravers, for example, and in its sequel, Alice, the complications arising from the hero's early love are admirably managed. The villany of Ferrers, the respectability of Templeton (a less common type of character when Sir Edward Lytton first drew it than it has since become), and the innocence of Alice, are excellently worked out; whilst the intrigues by which Ferrers and Cesarini prevent Maltravers's marriage with Lady Florence Lascelles are as good as the Newgate Calendar. There is one element of novel-writing of which Sir Edward of Alice, are excellently worked out; whilst the intrigues by which Ferrers and Cesarini prevent Maltravers's marriage with Lady Florence Lascelles are as good as the Newgate Calendar. The story of the gold robbery on the South Eastern is not more amusing than the story of Ferrers's forgery of his friend's letters. We must extend the same praise to most of Sir Edward Lytton's stories of crime—they are thoroughly well conceived and well told. The murder in Pelham, with all that belongs to it, is not much inferior to Scott, and is as far superior to Dickens as tragedy to melodrama. In the later novels (the Castons, My Novel, and What will He do with It), the ingenuity of the plot degenerates into intricacy; and we feel that if it were worth the trouble to understand the story fully we should have to take notes and construct pedigrees. This, however, is not the case in the earlier books—each contains a very striking story if it stood alone; but, unfortunately, in almost every case the striking part of the book is embedded in a mass of matter which is simply nauseous. Ernest Maltravers and Alice contain between them the materials of a single excellent novel—a story as good as one of the better tales of Scott. The seduction of the heroine, if the transaction with which the book opens can be called by that name—her separation from her lover—his courtship of Lady Florence Lascelles—the intrigues of Ferrers and Cesarini—Alice's quasi

<sup>·</sup> Collected Novels of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. London: Routledge.

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marriage—the birth of Evelyn Cameron—the rivalship for her hand, between Ferrers and Maltravers—the marriage of Maltravers and Alice—and the murder of Ferrers by Cesarini, might have constituted a story full of art, life, interest and merit of all kinds, if the author had been contented to be a mere artist, and to allow his mind to be absorbed in his book. Unluckily for his fame, this appeared to him a low ambition. He aimed at being more than a novelist even whilst he was writing a novel. He must needs be a great genius and creator as well as a story-teller. Ernest Maltravers accordingly is made into a man of sublime genius, the development of whose character is to give interest to the work. All the other events are made subservient to this end, and the author, with a sort of secondary egotism, takes the same kind of pride in pondering over the perfections of his hero as an egregious coxcomb would take in looking in the glass. Everything which contributes to his development, every fancy that he takes up, his personal appearance, his books, his speeches, his fits of retirement to brood over his grief, his love—in short, all that he is and all that he does is as dear to Sir E. Lytton as if he had been drawing a flattering portrait of himself. It never seems to occur to the tender parent that his darling may be a bore to visitors. A bore, however, he most undoubtedly is, nor does the paternal affection lavished on him produce any better result than that of a capital plot and a very amusing novel. He struggles with and almost succumbs under an untenable theory of the character of a coxcomb. How Mr. Maltravers came to be what he was is inconceivably unimportant to any created being. That are man possessing the qualities attributed to him by Sir Edward would have reached such a result by such a road, is a proposition which might be readily proved if it were worth while to take the trouble of doing so. The process by which this and some other of Sir E. Lytton's plots are spoilt is very singular. It consists in infusi ject altogether superfluous.

ful reflections. Mr. Thackeray's famous caricature romance of George de Barnewell fortunately renders criticism upon this subject altogether superfluous.

Apart from mere faults of manner, nothing can be more characteristically second-rate than the philosophy which Sir Edward Lytton appears to have considered throughout his whole career as a condiment indispensable to the dignity of his novels. Owing perhaps to his fancy for neuter adjectives beginning with capital letters, he has got the reputation of being an adept in German speculation. We think that there can hardly be a more unfounded notion. No writer of any considerable eminence has less real tendency to mysticism. Sir Edward, as we have already observed, is a very clever man, and his talent is pre-eminently of the stirring and active order. He has no real sympathy with observity, and but little, as it seems to us, with those delicacies of thought and feeling with which obscurity is frequently, perhaps unavoidably, connected. He is essentially a clever, sharp observer, writer and speaker, and these characteristics appear on examination to be most curiously reflected in all the speculative parts of his writings. The moral and political theories which he broaches in various parts of his works are all of an obvious and rather trivial, if not of a shallow, nature. They are simply a weak infusion of Benthamism, which any one of ordinary intelligence might easily master, reproduce to any extent, and apply to any number of subjects with the commonplaces of which he might possess even a very moderate amount of familiarity. In all the discussions between Maltravers and his French friend Montaigne, in the speculative parts of Pelham and the Discurded, and on every other occasion when moral or philosophical subjects come under discussion—nad we need not remind our readers of the frequency with which Sir Edward finds or makes opportunities for such discussions—the opinions professed on the one side and controverted on the other, are always of the most commonplace ch

of Pelham, but he was obviously duped by Maltravers.

Indeed, there can be no more convincing proof of the fact that his wares are electro-plate than the bona fides with which he displays them. Whether the display takes the form of learning or of speculation—whether it has to do with classics, history, or philosophy—it always suggests the same conclusion. There is just about enough of each of these things to swear by, and very little more. The classical quotations are frequently incorrect—the history is crammed—conscientiously and diligently crammed, but still crammed for the occasion—and the philosophy

always gives the impression that a clever man is describing the tone of his mind and thoughts for the time being, not that a real thinker is giving the results of real thought.

tone of his mind and thoughts for the time being, not that a real thinker is giving the results of real thought.

Sir Edward's historical novels are perhaps as good an illustration of the foregoing observations as could be cited. It has been stated, we believe, that it was at one time his intention to write a History of the Wars of the Roses, and he has claimed the credit of having studied both long and deeply before he wrote Harold. We have no doubt at all that he did so in a certain sense. We find here, as we read the books, that there is authority for every statement. When the young lady in the Last of the Barons is called a "donzelle," when she speaks of her "gittern" and "gypsire," instead of her fiddle and purse, we feel no doubt that she is strictly medieval. No doubt the standards of the Danes, Saxons, and Welsh in Harold are all perfectly correct. If Sir Edward says that a particular person was a "twihændman," an "eorl," or a "ceorl," no doubt the term is used in an appropriate manner. But this is not enough; and no man who had an adequate conception of what an historical novel ought to be would ever have supposed it to be enough. There are but two ways in which historical novels can be made good for anything. Such a novel ought to represent the life of the persons whom it describes, as contemporary novels represent, or aim at representing, the life of the writer's own times. In order to be able to do this, a man must have lived either in reality or in imagination amongst those whom he is to describe. The most imperfect materials will enable a man of real genius to do this. As senting, the life of the writer's own times. In order to be able to do this, a man must have lived either in reality or in imagination amongst those whom he is to describe. The most imperfect materials will enable a man of real genius to do this. As Franklin performed his most important experiment with a key, a ball of string, and a sheet or two of brown paper, so Shakspeare evolved Troilus and Cressida and Coriolanus out of two or three incorrect translations of classical authors. It may be doubted whether he would have done it better with Mr. Grote's History of Greece, and Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities at his clow. A mind of infinitely inferior power to Shakspeare's may perform an operation of much the same kind by sympathy with the particular age represented, and by a wide and deep knowledge, acquired in consequence of that sympathy, of its characteristic literature. It was in this way that Scott was enabled to describe the Scotch Covenanters of the seventeenth century. In the absence of genius on the one hand, and of deep sympathetic knowledge on the other, no mere cleverness will enable a man to describe an age in which he has not lived; and nothing less than that profound study of its history which will enable him to add to the existing stock of knowledge on the subject will give to his books any independent historical value. Whatever falls short of this is a failure, more or less clever, according to circumstances. short of this is a failure, more or less clever, according to circum-

stances.

Sir Edward Lytton's historical novels seem to us to illustrate exactly each of the defects which we have indicated. He certainly must have read diligently before he got up his costumes so well; but he never appears for a moment to get beyond costume. Harold and the Last of the Barons are exactly like Mr. Maclise's historical pictures. They show great power of drawing, but they have no life or nature. The attitudes are well studied, but they are mere attitudes; the models are well chosen and well drawn, but we see at a glance that they are models. The Vision of Ezekiel is reversed. There are no dry bones, but there is also no life. Instead of a real glimpse into past times, we get nothing but a clever, picture of a masquerade or the Eglintoun tournament,

If we look at the independent historical value of the books in

lintoun tournament,

If we look at the independent historical value of the books in question, the same principle receives a further illustration. Sir Edward appears to have read a certain number of original authorities, but he certainly has not gone through a tenth part of the labour which would be necessary in these days to increase our historical knowledge; and, as he did not do this, it is hard to see why he was not content with secondhand information. It would have been more than enough for all his purposes if he had not included amongst them the wish to be looked upon as a better historian than most novelists are. As it is, he is like a man who tries to entitle himself to write a story about gipsy-life by walking along the high road from London to Windsor, when an ordinary person would have taken the train to Bristol.

It would be impossible, in criticising Sir E. Lytton's novels, to

ordinary person would have taken the train to Bristol.

It would be impossible, in criticising Sir E. Lytton's novels, to pass over their moral tone. It illustrates to a considerable extent the remarks which we have already made upon the general literary characteristics of the works in question, though it has special characteristics of its own. Sir E. Lytton's works present the phenomenon, more common in art than in literature, of an earlier and a later style, distinguished from each other by differences so broad and deep as to imply that at some period of his life the author must have experienced an entire change in his views. The early morals are all conceived in a temper which it is perhaps not unjust to describe as one of dissatisfaction with the ordinary conceptions of morality. It would no doubt be harsh to say that the moral fairly deducible from several of them is that avowed rogues are the only honest members of society; but it is not too much to say that they all indicate, more or less strongly, a temper of mind accustomed, not exactly to fly in the face of the world, but to take little liberties with its opinions, and to make little scoffs at the supposed obligation of conforming to them. If the books are carefully read, and due pains are taken to draw the distinction which the author has a right to have drawn between his own

opinions and those of his characters, it is perfectly true—and it is also a very characteristic truth—that no doctrine is broached by Sir Edward which can be described as immoral, perhaps none can even be called unpopular. He has always been substantially on the best of terms with the world. It would have been altogether opposed to his character to have given it real offence. His early heresies in point of morality do not go beyond the amatory liberties which authors are in the habit of taking, and which the public are accustomed to accept with mutual satisfaction. A clever man who inveighs against conventionality, and charges the world with hollowness and deceit through the mouths of ideal beauties of enormous fortune and ideal highwaymen of superlalative genius, is exactly like a handsome man who knows he is good-looking and dresses like a dandy accordingly. good-looking and dresses like a dandy accordingly.

There is no real audacity in conduct of this sort. It only involves safe danger; for even if the author is supposed to be writing in earnest, there is so large a minority of persons to whom his assertions would be welcome if true, and also so large a number to whom they are amusing and interesting irrespec-tively of their truth or falsehood, that he is sure to find himself safe, on the whole, with that part of the world for whose opinions he really cares. Sir Edward's later novels appear to us far more be really cares. Sir Edward's later novels appear to us far more objectionable in point of morality than his earlier ones. The former, at the very worst, contain a paradoxical quasi-laudation of vices which their readers are not very likely to imitate. Nobody, whatever philanthropists may say, is really likely to turn highwayman because he has read a novel about highwaymen, unless he was on the high road to the profession before he met with descriptions of it; but the later novels, which have such a virtuous and religious air, appear to us at least to preach nothing more than an easy-chair acquiescence in the world as it is, mixed with that mild interest in reformers which people feel in those with whom they sympathize whilst they see through them. There can be no doubt as to the general temper which such manifestations denote. It is the temper of one who is neither a philosopher nor a steady and genuine inquirer, but a novelist of the common type—a man who draws sketches of life and things, and washes them with a varnish which represents nothing but his own moods for the time being. his own moods for the time being.

It may be said that our criticism only amounts to this—that Sir Edward's novels are merely novels, and not treatises or histories; and this might be a fair observation if it were not the fact that throughout they assume, either tacitly or expressly, that novels are the concentrated essence of each. In his earlier works this theory is more prominently set forth than in his later ones. We find it given in *Pelham*, in its entirety, as follows:—

"It must require," said Lady Roseville, "an extraordinary combination of mental powers to produce a perfect novel."

"One so extraordinary," answered Vincent, "that, though we have one perfect epic poem, and several which pretend to perfection, we have not one perfect novel in the world."

"If an author could combine the various excellencies of Scott and Le Sage, with a greater and more metaphysical knowledge of morals than either, we might expect from him the perfection we have not yet discovered since the days of Apuleius."

"All mankind is the field the novelist should cultivate—all truth, the moral he should strive to bring home. It is in occasional dialogue, in desultory maxims, in deductions from events, in analysis of character, that he should benefit and instruct."

"Before he touches his tale, he should be thoroughly acquainted with the intricate science of morals, and the metaphysical, as well as the more open, operations of the mind. If his knowledge is not deep and clear, his love of the good may only lead him into error; and he may pass off the prejudices of a susceptible heart for the precepts of virtue. For me, if I were to write a novel, I would first make myself an acute, active, and vigilant observer of men and manners. Secondly, I would, after having thus noted effects by action in the world, trace the causes by books, and meditation in my closet. It is then, and not till then, that I would study the lighter graces," &c.

It is then, and not till then, that I would study the lighter graces," &c.

It would be an exact parallel to this absurdity to say, that inasmuch as every truth is related to all other truths, no one can know anything who does not know everything. Sir E. Lytton's literary career appears to us to convey a striking illustration of the consequences into which an impracticable and absurd theory—the principal recommendation of which is that it flatters his vanity—may lead an extremely elever man. The strong points of Sir Edward's works need the less notice from us because we have recognised them more than once, but his claims are at once so wide and so widely admitted that their justice demands a somewhat critical examination.

### HWOMELY RHYMES.\*

SEVERAL years ago Mr. Barnes published a volume of Dorsetshire poems, with an ample glossary and an erudite preface on the origin and development of his native dialect. For the greater satisfaction of scholars, he has also constructed a Grammar involving a comparison of more than sixty languages, while his Anglo-Saxon Delectus is probably useful to the humbler students of inchoate or potential English. The only extraordinary peculiarity in this labyrinth of philological learning is that, unlike his polyglot rivals and predecessors, Mr. Barnes is a genuine, simple, idiomatic poet, who, notwithstanding the sixty languages, is an instinctive artist in the use of his own. It may be doubted

whether any English pastoral poet is so true to nature and to rustic character, or so resolute in adhering to his purpose. Never rising into lyrical elevation, keeping himself aloof from tragic emotion and from perplexities of reasoning, Mr. Barnes has a perfect mastery of every note within his limited compass. The ordinary life of Dorsetshire farmers and labourers supplies him with all the materials which he requires, and his imagination is fertile enough to dispense with those portions of his subject which a vulgar writer would select as most obvious or most startling. From the beginning of the volume to the end there is not a poacher or a pauper, a seducer or an oppressive landlord; for, though all these elements of rural society are probably to be found in Dorsetshire as in other counties, the true poet feels that they are not especially characteristic, or perhaps that they are not worth preserving by artistic processes.

The common growth of Mother Earth

The common growth of Mother Earth Suffices him, her simple mirth, Her humblest mirth and tears.

Wordsworth himself took a hearty interest in the thoughts and feelings of country people, but his sympathy was that of a philosopher discerning, not without surprise, how large a portion of human interests was shared by the mass of mankind. Mr. Barnes, either through the familiarity of habit, or by an imperceptible effort of imagination, identifies himself with the personages of his idyls, and is content to record their little sorrows, the interest and resistence in the record of the little sorrows, sonages of his idyls, and is content to record their little sorrows, their tenderness and gaiety, without attempting to discover hints and glimpses of any deeper meaning. If he has looked to any model, Virgil's Eclogues have perhaps suited his purpose better than the complex and reflective pastorals of later times; and fortunately, the South Western Tityrus and Melibœus never wander into superfluous disquisitions on Augustus and Rome. Once only a poor carrier, whose horse has been poisoned with yew branches thrown over the churchyard wall, consoles himself by the recollection that George III. had in former times admired the pride and ornament of the village:—

E looked at thik yew-tree, an' nodded his head,
An' 'e zaid,—an' I'll tell ye the words that 'e zaid:
"I'll be bound, if you'll search my dominions all droo,
That you woon't vind the fellor to thik there wold yew."

In his first volume of poems, under the combined influence of philology and provincialism, Mr. Barnes was intent on giving prominence to the local element, both in his selection of topics and in his orthography. In common with almost all writers who attempt to popularize obscure dialects, he misspelt his words with an exagerated consistency which rendered it impossible to compare them with the non-phonetic English of ordinary literature. No provincial publication can excel in absurdity of effect the Nuz, of unfortunate memory, which undertook to simplify the spelling of the future at the expense of the generations which have already learned to read. A local dialect written down from oral pronunciation derives an artificial oddity from its contrast with conventional orthography. Although in the present volume unnecessary eccentricities of spelling are for the most part judiciously retrenched, there is sometimes a discrepancy which indicates no corresponding variation in the sounds of the which indicates no corresponding variation in the sounds of the respective words. The most remarkable instance of this oversight may be found in the pleasant little poem of "Meäry Wedded":—

The dog that oonce wer glad to bear Her fondlen vingers down his heäir, Do leän his head ageän the vloor, To watch wi' heavy eyes the door; An' men she zent so happy hwome O' Zadderdaes, do seem to come To door, wi' downcast hearts to miss Wi' smiles below the clematis Young Meäry Meäd o' merry mood, Vor she's a-woo'd an' wedded.

Young Meäry Meäd o' merry mood,
Vor she's a woo'd an' wedded.

The local pronunciation of Saturdays would have been much
more accurately indicated by the mere substitution of Z for S,
and of d for t. Further attempts at phonetic conformity would
be equally applicable to the unpretending vernacular of our own
title; yet it would be absurd to describe writers on social science
and the progress of the species who may have been reviewed in
our own columns, as—Men we sent so happy home on Satterdaes.
In his new series of poems, Mr. Barnes, forgetting that he
is a learned grammarian, uses his native vernacular with the
familiar case which is the first condition of poetical expression.
The dialect of Dorsetshire, as of all other provinces of the kingdom, is a genuine form of English, characterized by a peculiar
pronunciation, and by a certain number of distinctive terms,
which are for the most part suited to poetry because they are
definite and special. Any person who has conversed with a
West-countryman will easily catch the proper intonation, and
the trifling variation from literary English adds a raciness to the
poems, such as that which an Athenian reader may have found
in the Sicilian Doric of Theocritus. The common prefix a, as
in a-dying, a-going, the separation of diphthongs into their component vowels as in lean, or heävir, and the German affix of en to
adjectives, as in stwonen, made of stone, supply metrical facilities
which every English versifier will easily understand; but the
real advantage which Mr. Barnes derives from his provincial
dialect consists in the inseparable link which connects his language with his early local associations. Courtly poets, from the
time of Horace downwards, have always felt or affected an inclination to desert lowly subjects for the worthier celebration of

<sup>\*</sup> Hwomely Rhymes. A Second Collection of Poems in the Dorset Dialect. By William Barnes.

demigods and battles and the glories of Cæsar; but it would be absurdly impossible to commemorate the rise and fall of monarchies in a tongue which is only spoken in the Vale of Blackmore.

Blackmore.

The subjects of the poems are always simple, and generally pleasing; and Mr. Barnes possesses the rare faculty of knowing when to have done. When his anecdote or his picture is complete, he leaves it to produce its effect, without refining or expanding it, or twisting it into an allegory. In almost the only instances in which a formal moral is introduced, it is assigned, with dramatic propriety, to a certain "Measter Collins," who is probably the ideal clergyman of the happy Dorsetshire parish. The gate of the wheat-field bushed up, when weeding and rolling are over in spring, and the corn is strong in blade, suggests to the rustic teacher the simple analogy of active duty followed by quiet resignation when nothing more can be done. Those who desire more complicated philosophy in rhyme must seek it elsewhere than in the Hwomely Rhymes, which well deserve their name. The poet probably felt that it was better to connect a natural sentiment with a familiar scene, than to undertake the easy and thankless task of putting truisms in verse. He sees a little girl carrying dinner to her father at work in the wood, and the cheerful out-of-door view at once acquires a domestic interest: interest :-

A little maïd, wi' bloomen feäce, Went on up hill wi' nimble peäce, A leänen to the right-han' zide, To car' a basket that did ride A hangen doun wi' all his heft Upon her elbow at her left. Upon her elbow at her left.

An' there a-vell'd 'ithin the copse, Below the timber's new-leav'd tops, Below the timber's new-leav'd tops, Wer ashen poles, a-casten straight On primrwose beds their langthy waight; Below the yollor light a-shed Droe boughs upon the vi'let's head By climen ivy that did reach As heenen' roun' the dead-leaved beech. An' there her faether zot, and meade His whomely meal bezide a gleade; While she a-croopen down to ground, Did pull the flowers when she found The drooping vi'let out in blooth, Or yollor primrose in the lewth, That she might car' em proudly back, An' zet 'em on her mother's tack; Vor she wer bless'd wi more than zome—A faether out an' mother hwome—Be blessens early lost by zome; A-lost by me—an' zoo I präy'd They might be speared that little mnid.

If rustic courtship are always gracefu

The scenes of rustic courtship are always graceful and playful, although one spirited dialogue ends with a box on the ear deservedly administered to Corydon, who bears the name of "Joe," by his Phillis, or Annie. A more fortunate lover sees "Jenny Coom" coming along the path with her pail on her head, shining "ageän the evenen's slanten light," and of course he loses no time in relieving her from the burden:—

in relieving her from the burden
An' zo I took her päil, an' left
Her neck a-freed from all its heft;
An' she a-looken up an' down,
Wi' sheaply head an' glossy crown,
Then took my zide, an' kept my peäce,
A talken on wi' smilen feace,
An' zetten things in such a light,
I'd fain ha' heär'd her talk all night;
An' when I brought her milk avore
The geäte, she took it in to door,
An' if her pail had but allow'd
Her head to vall, she would ha' bow'd;
An' still, as twer, I had the zight
Ov her sweet smile droughout the night.

There is an unusual oversight in the suggestion that Jenny's pail, which she had just taken in at the door, was on her head at parting, but the impression left by her conversation is admirably true to nature. She might probably have set things in any other light, however opposite, without disturbing her companion's inclination to hear her talk all night; but his belief that he was attracted by the substance rather than the manner of her discourse is the fittest tribute to the attractions of the "sheäply head and glossy crown" which he so justly appreciated. appreciated.

appreciated.

There are few operations more interesting to those immediately concerned than the process of building a house, but the subject has not often been illustrated by art. Mr. Barnes, however, is not afraid to record how "Merry Bleäke o' Blackmwore" determined to employ two hundred pounds left him by his uncle in enabling him to live rent free on a bit of ground which had previously come to him from his mother's side. The deliberations of the masons and carpenters are recorded with much spirit, for in Blackmore there are probably no giant contractors with estimates ready for every conceivable undertaking:—

An' cone did marke it on the groun,"
An' cone did think an' scratch his crown,
An reckon work, an' write it down.
"Zoo, zoo," cone treädesman cried.
"True, true," cone mwore replied.
"Aye, aye, good work, an' have good paÿ,"
Cried merry Bleäke o' Blackmwore."

When the house was built, there was naturally a house-warming feast; but something more is still wanting to consecrate the new building as a home, and there is both fancy and tenderness in the suggestion that the birds adopt the dwelling of their human neighbour as their own:—

An' when the morrow's sun did sheen,
John Bleäke beheld, wi' jay an' pride,
His bricken home, an' pworch, an' green,
Above the Stouer's rushy zido—
The zwallows left the lwonesome groves
To build beneath the thatchen oves,
An' robins come vor crums o' lwoaves—
"Tweet, tweet," the birds all cried—
"Sweet, sweet," John's wife replied—
"Dad, dad," the children cried, so glad,
To merry Bleäke o' Blackmwore.

It would seem that in the Dorset dialect, instead of indicating a disposition to riot or buffoonery, the epithet "merry" retains its good old English meaning of healthy and social cheerfulness. "Young Meäry Mead o' merry mood," leaves grave regrets behind her, and "merry Bleäke," as he is described "at hwome at night," is a grave and thoughtful observer of the circumstances which make up or attend his quiet domestic happiness. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the inhabitants of Dorsetshire must possess many solid virtues, and even a certain natural refinement. If Mr. Barnes's picture of rural life is invented as well as idealized, it is an extraordinary effort of creative ingenuity; but it is more reasonable to assume that sympathetic observation and judicious selection have furnished him with the scenery and manners of an English Arcadia. On either supposition his little book is worth a wilderness of despairing life-tragedies and of inflated lyrics on no particular subject. It would seem that in the Dorset dialect, instead of indicating

#### MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF GEORGE IV.\*

MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF GEORGE IV.\*

THESE volumes, as most of our readers must know, are a continuation of the Memoirs of the Court of George the Third, and the Regency, and have been edited by the Duke of Buckingham. They embrace the period between 1820 and 1830, and form a characteristic commentary upon the politics of the time, and, in a lesser degree, upon the social life of George IV. and his Court, as these appeared to the eyes of the cousinhood of Stowe. They consist chiefly of letters from the Grenville party, and from the principal Ministers of the King, to the Marquis—afterwards the Duke—of Buckingham; and these are almost entirely devoted to public affairs, or to personal interests in them. Occasionally, however, a lighter correspondent diversifies the "eternal Corn and Catholics" of the day with anecdotes of aristocratic gossip and scandal, which, written as they were in confidence to "a nobleman and a gentleman" about living persons, are by him published before all those persons have passed from the scene. Of course plausible arguments will be ready to justify this course; and, on the other hand, such old-fashioned maxims as "noblesse oblige," will be urged. But we apprehend that— But we apprehend that-

Thankful for the terms he gets.
The last of the Plantagenets—

will not much heed the comments on one side or the other. the whole—the morality of their publication and the honour of their editor apart—these volumes contain some curious information, editor apart—these volumes contain some curious information, and possess the merits which naturally follow from an emancipation from the controlling motives which would influence the majority of mankind—although, like every work of the kind, they often give an undue prominence to small personal incidents, and miss the bearing and significance of events of real moment. As for the editorial commentary which connects them, we do not know whether it is from the pen of the Duke of Buckingham, but we cannot say that it deserves our commendation. Its style is dull and tumid, and its information is meagre; it frequently passes by public occurrences which it should have noticed at some length, and it is pervaded by a stupid and tawdry flunkeyism, which, even after the lapse of thirty years, still hails George IV. as the first gentleman of Europe, puts the worst construction on every act of Mr. Canning, and characterizes all Reformers as a Radical canaille. In our opinion, the editor of a correspondence which penetrates Canning, and characterizes all Keformers as a Kadical canalle. In our opinion, the editor of a correspondence which penetrates the reign of George IV. at all points should have some real knowledge of the state of England at the period—should show that he understands the financial crisis of 1825, and the economic reforms of Mr. Huskisson, and should not contemplate the scene before him with the eye of a "King's friend"

of 1821.

The chief political interest of these volumes is, that they give an accurate account of the views of the Grenville party upon most of the public events of the period. That party, at the death of George III., had dwindled down to a very few individuals, but it still formed a distinct political connexion, and professed definite and peculiar political principles. Though Lord Grenville had been in office with Mr. Fox, and had long associated with Lord Grey in opposition, his party was still emphatically that of the old Whigs, and it continued, even in 1820, constant to the traditions of Mr. Burke, its real originator. Thus it advocated the great measure of Catholic Emancipation with more

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<sup>\*</sup> Memoirs of the Court of George IV. By the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1859.

earnestness than any other party in the State, except the genuine followers of Mr. Pitt; and, generally, it was as much on the side of religious toleration as the adherents of Lord Lansdowne and of Lord Grey. So, too, it was liberal on all economic questions, and usually supported freedom of trade and financial reform; and it had resisted the Corn-law of 1815, and almost all Lord Castlereagh's measures of taxation. On the other hand, it was thoroughly anti-Gallican. It viewed the entire French Revolution with abhorrence, and did not pretend to any more sympathy with Napoleon in exile than on the throne; and this feeling had made it hostile to thorough Parliamentary Reform, or to any measures of a democratic tendency, and had induced it to give its support to the Government in the trying period of 1819–1820. On the whole, as, towards the close of the Regency, the Radical party in England became more formidable than it had been, and availing itself of the discontent that pervaded the mass of the nation, began to menace the institutions of the country, the Grenville connexion inclined to the side of the Tories, though on many points it still differed from the Liverpool Cabinet.

When the return of Queen Caroline to England, and the un-

When the return of Queen Caroline to England, and the unhappy proceedings that were taken against her, were threatening the Throne and the State with a tremendous convulsion, the Grenville party, unlike the Whigs with Lord Grey, kept steadily with the King and the Government, though Mr. Wynn, its leader in the House of Commons, did not much approve of the Bill of Dries and Posselies. These Myrosis there we no row light upon with the King and the Government, though Mr. Wynn, its leader in the House of Commons, did not much approve of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. These Memoirs throw no new light upon the question of the guilt or the innocence of the Queen; but it is significant that Lord Grenville, who had exculpated her in 1806 upon the occasion of the "Delicate Investigation," seems to have had no doubt as to her misconduct in 1821, and both voted and spoke against her on the second reading of the Bill. This is not the place to discuss a nasty personal subject, with regard to which, we suppose, most historians will not differ; but whatever may have been the sins of Caroline of Brunswick, the behaviour of George IV. towards her had been of such a kind that, in our judgment, political considerations alone can account for the support which the majority of the House of Lords afforded him at the trial. In fact, it is evident from these volumes, as also from many other sources, that the real issue in the case was lost sight of by all parties; and if it may be laid to the charge of the people that they backed the Queen solely in the interest of revolution, it is equally certain that the mass of the aristocracy who sided with the King only did so because they thought that the constitution was in danger. As regards the chief actors in the nauseous business, neither the flaunting virage of Brandenburgh House nor the bloated sensualist of St. James's can challenge any respect or sympathy; and, on the whole, a just posterity will refuse to strike the balance of wrongs between the shameless mistress of Bergami and the perjured betrayer of Mrs. Fitzherbert, the criminal author of a dozen seductions, the systematic breaker of every social and moral engagement, who proclaimed himself an injured husband, and, with the cant of decency and religion in his mouth, sought to blast the name of the wife he had abandoned for the mere purpose of selfish vindictiveness.

In 1822, the Grenville party had so nearly approximated to for the mere purpose of selfish vindictiveness.

jured husband, and, with the cant of decency and religion in his mouth, sought to blast the name of the wife he had abandoned for the mere purpose of selfish vindictiveness.

In 1822, the Grenville party had so nearly approximated to the Government, that Mr. Wynn accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, Mr. Plunket became Attorney-General for Ireland, and the then Marquis of Buckingham was made a Duke. The majority of the Cabinet were still averse to Catholic Emancipation; but it was agreed that it should remain an open question; and the appointment of Lord Wellesley as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a distinct pledge from Lord Liverpool against the continuance of Protestant ascendancy, was a sufficient justification of this coalition. Indeed, Lord Londonderry and Mr. Canning had been in the Liverpool Government for a long period, though each of them supported warmly the Catholic claims. None of the statesmen of the day, before 1823, thought the question so pressing as to make its advocacy a sine quâ non of alliance; and the Grenville party seem to have honestly believed that they were acting in the interest of Emancipation when, in 1822, they accepted office. From this time until 1829, these Memoirs afford sufficient evidence that, with the heads of the Grenville party at least, the state of Ireland and the Catholic question were subjects of even greater moment than the financial crisis of 1825, the important Congress of Verona, the recognition of the American Republics, or the reciprocity system of Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Wynn, when negotiating with Lord Liverpool in 1822, insisted upon "concession to the Catholics" as "the primary and paramount" object; and it is almost touching to read the words of Lord Grenville, when, on the accomplishment of that great measure of justice, he appeals to it proudly as a monument of his political career. And, although the Act of 1829 was in no sense the work of the Grenville, when, on a special characteristic of all the statesmen.

One special characteristic o

preservation of Protestant ascendancy, were respectively the only measures which the Whigs or Tories thought suitable for a country which already was cursed with a bankrupt proprietary, a fettered race of farmers, and a teeming population of cottiers and paupers. Perhaps the only exceptions to this belief were to be found in Mr. Goulburn's Tithe Commutation Act, and in Mr. Peel's establishment of the Irish constabulary; and yet it would not be difficult to show that each of these measures had merely political objects in view, and had no reference to the material improvement of the country. It was left to the riper wisdom of Sir Robert Peel, and to his more intimate acquaintance with Ireland, to inaugurate the policy of her economic emancipation; and if it be true that his conduct from 1825 to 1829 was a serious obstacle to her real progress, and that, in the words of Lord Grenville, his final "act of conciliation was ungracious and peevish," it is equally certain that his exertions in her material interests, during the last ten years of his public life, amply redeemed the debt due to her from his early intolerance. We must, however, be permitted to observe that it was mainly owing to Mr. Peel's attitude towards Ireland between 1823 and 1828 that the Catholic Association became so formidable—that Mr. O'Connell acquired such a tremendous power—that the episode of the Clare election took place—and that, finally, Catholic Emancipation was passed without binding the Irish priests to obedience to the State through the medium of a golden appeal to their interests. And it only makes the case worse against Mr. Peel if, as is hinted pretty broadly by Mr. Wynn in these Memoirs, he was not disinclined, as early as 1820, "to back out of the Catholic question" if he saw that ultimately it must be carried, and if he opposed it solely on personal grounds which subsequently he found it his interest to abandon.

From the death of Lord Londonderry in 1822, until the close of 1827, Mr. Canning was virtually the foremost statesman

From the death of Lord Londonderry in 1822, until the close of 1827, Mr. Canning was virtually the foremost statesman of England, and these Memoirs show that the Grenville party viewed his conduct with the same dislike which the Duke of Wellington and Lord Grey evidently felt towards him. The Duke of Buckingham, indeed, and probably Lord Grenville, were averse to his recognition of the South American Republics, and certainly thought very differently from him as regards the French invasion of Spain; and although Mr. Wynn supported him in all this policy, we do not find him anywhere advocating the principle "of redressing by the New World the balance of the Old." As respects the enlightened economical policy which Mr. Huskisson commenced under the auspices of Mr. Canning, the Grenville party certainly approved of it; but their remarks upon it in these Memoirs are scanty and trivial; and even Lord Grenville does not seem to have appreciated its significance. In short, although a few of the Tory and almost all the Whig statesmen of the day gave an apparent sanction to Mr. Canning's measures as regarded foreign and domestic affairs, it is certain that he no more possessed their confidence than that of the Tories of the Eldon and Bexley school. He was generally accused of selfish ambition in all his conduct, of an overweening vanity, and a giddy love of popularity; and, even on the question of Catholic Emancination, the Grenville party evidently doubted From the death of Lord Londonderry in 1822, until the close accused of selfish ambition in all his conduct, of an overweening vanity, and a giddy love of popularity; and, even on the question of Catholic Emancipation, the Grenville party evidently doubted his sincerity and secretly charged him with postponing it to his mere personal interests. Time has, as usual, ripened and softened men's judgments, and placed Mr. Canning, whatever may have been his faults, among those names which ennoble the history of a free state. That, however, his own colleagues in office did not trust him, is shown by the following extract from a letter of Mr. Wynn to the Duke of Buckingham:—"He dwelt so much on the disposition of the Duke of York, if he succeeded to the throne, to stake his Crown entirely upon opposition to it (the Catholic question), and talked so much of the advantages of a compromise. . . . . that I am myself convinced that he is of a compromise . . . . that I am myself convinced that he is disposed to consider it as a millstone, to which he is not absolutely pledged, and which he will for his own interest shake from his neck."

his neck."

To those who would understand the point of view from which the statesmen of George IV. looked at the drama of public affairs in England, the omissions in these Memoirs are perhaps as suggestive as their contents. The nation was on the eve of the crisis of 1832; but even Lord Grenville seems to have thought that the demand for Reform was an empty cry, without any real national support, and he only alludes to it once in these volumes. In fact, the generation of politicians who had grown up during the French Revolution, though they must have known that the state of the representation had been condemned by the two Pitts, and had been vehemently assailed by popular clamour at the close of the American war, appear to have made up their minds against the prospect of any immediate change; and the efforts even of Lord John Russell and of Lord Brougham, before 1830, were not considered of great importance. It is plain that efforts even of Lord John Russell and of Lord Brougham, before 1830, were not considered of great importance. It is plain that the Tory and Grenville parties, and even the Whigs of 1828-29, believed in the continuance of the old state of things, and had no idea that the time was at hand when Gatton and Garage Sarum were to be extinguished, and a new polity was to arise from the throes of a revolution. It is also remarkable how silent these volumes are with respect to that Condition of England question which is the main topic of thought with our living statesmen. They do not refer once to National Education, though Mr. Brougham had frequently brought the subject before the House of Commons; and they scarcely notice the great re-

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ductions of taxation, in the interest of the poorer classes, which took place between 1822 and 1829. Very singularly, too, they do not drop a word upon that noble monument to Sir S. Romilly, Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Peel—the relaxation of our ancient and barbarous code of punishments; and, indeed, as regards nearly all measures of a social tendency, they are curiously meagre and wanting in information. So evident is it that, before the Act of 1832 had brought the people of England more closely in contact with their rulers, the attention of public men to their requirements was comparatively slight, and that the great social reforms we have witnessed during the last twenty-eight years may ultimately be ascribed to that important measure.

the great social reforms we have witnessed during the last twenty-eight years may ultimately be ascribed to that important measure.

In a social point of view, the lovers of anecdote will find a good deal of amusement in these volumes. We did not know before we read them, that, as early as 1825, the Duke of Wellington, in the eyes of rival statesmen, had shown symptoms of breaking down; but as he survived for twenty-seven years, his epithet of "the Iron Duke" was sufficiently justified. A letter from him giving an account of his duel with Lord Winchilsea is very characteristic. He thought the affair a matter of business, in the interest of the "King's service," and went through it with a kind of contemptuous equanimity. But George IV., as might have been expected, is the most prominent figure in the group who pass before us in these volumes; and notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the editor, the familiar features of meanness, sensuality, duplicity, and coarseness are made only the more visible by the unctuous flattery which overlays them. The likeness is always kept, whether we see the King coquetting with the Whigs, for the purpose of procuring a better bargain from his Ministers, and ready to betray both sides for his fancied interests—or purchasing an Irish jubilee with false promises of Catholic Emancipation, which, of course, his regard for his coronation oath obliged him to ignore at a convenient season—or, at a period of national calamity and distress, withdrawing into the simulated Caprese of the Pavilion, whence "merry as a grig," and "frequently seeing double," he turned a deaf ear to the voice of popular indignation—or, finally, catching at the occasion of a sudden turn in public opinion to visit a few paltry libellers with the whole weight of royal vindictiveness. We must not, however, forget the remark of Tacitus, that there is often a good deal of cant in detraction; and, as the portrait of George IV. must be tolerably familiar to our readers, we have no particular wish to reproduce it befor

## KAYE'S CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.\*

A MONG the readers of Mr. Kaye's book there may not improbably be some who will lay it down with a feeling of disappointment. They will have hoped to find a calm estimate, expressed in simple language, of the results of the efforts that have been made to spread a knowledge of Christianity in India—an attempt to examine what is the real relation of the Hindoo mind to the new system offered it, and what is the probable reaction of Orientalism on this system itself. What they actually get is a narrative of the creation of religious machinery—a narrative framed in the spirit and adapted to the taste of the religious public, and for the most part written in that style of scenie grandiloquence, which has been appropriated by religious biographers of a superior class. Mr. Kaye has also much of the zeal of a religious partisan. He can scarcely admit the existence of any excellence that has not emanated from, or been approved by, Clapham Common. He is full of sneers at individuals who differed in opinion on points of expediency from missionaries; and he appears to believe that the teachers of all other creeds under the sun, except Evangelical Protestants, are to be set down as priests, and therefore, by virtue of the term, hypocrites, anxious only to extort money out of their flocks. It is impossible, therefore, to say that Mr. Kaye's book is all we could wish. But still it is in many respects an able book, and it is likely to prove a very useful one. Mr. Kaye is fortunate enough to have been for many years an active and very efficient servant of a great institution, and he has been powerfully acted on by the elevating and ennobling influences which such a connexion brings with it. Wherever the conduct, the history, and the policy of the East India Company have to be touched on, Mr. Kaye is not only most instructive from his familiarity with all points of detail, but he sees and judges everything as it was seen and judged by the great statesmen whose wisdom has made British government possible in India. The difference b

still to be solved, by Indian statesmen in his own time. He writes calmly, simply, and clearly, and he ably defends the great policy of toleration and patience with which he has been familiarized by his position in the Company's service. This is why his book will at this time be so useful. The religious world, which will eagerly buy a book so expressly accommodated to it, will be persuaded to listen to the arguments by which an author it is inclined to trust proves the necessity of discretion, and the wisdom of doing justice even to Pagans.

world, which will eagerly buy a book so expressly accommodated to it, will be persuaded to listen to the arguments by which an author it is inclined to trust proves the necessity of discretion, and the wisdom of doing justice even to Pagans.

The first era of Christianity in India was necessarily that of individual exertion. The governing power was in the hands of men who had neither the will nor the call to devote themselves to missionary enterprise. We, who have been accustomed to see the East India Company a great administrative and legislative authority, are apt to forget to what a late period of its history it was but a company of traders. A complete neutrality is of the essence of trade, and even in these days no one would think of blaming traders for considering business relations with the heathen in their purely commercial aspect. But the picture of the East, with its millions of human beings neither civilized nor uncivilized, with a philosophy and theology so peculiar and so systematic, with an exhibition of moral qualities unrivalled by Europeans amid immoralities surpassing in intensity the immoralities of any Christian nation, has always exercised a singular fascination over a certain number of minds in Western countries. The success of the East India Company stimulated the religious zeal of Protestant Europe, just as the success of Portugal had excited the ardour of the Jesuits. Whatever, theoretically, may be the relation of different religious creeds to commercial success, it remains at least a fact that the Protestant nations of Europe have beaten the Catablic nations as traders. The Jesuits languished and died out of their Eastern Empire, not on account of any distaste of the Orientals for a form of Christianity that had so much Orientalism to recommend it as the clastic Popery of the Society of Jesus, but because the Dutch and the Eaglish were more active and enterprising than the Portuguese and the French. When this commercial triumph of Protestantism was established, the Reformed French and had established its hold on the settlers in Calcutta, that it does not call for any separate notice. Considerable success was at length achieved, and no one can peruse the history of the individuals who laid the foundation of Christianity in India without a sincere admiration for them, and a sense of the great blessings which they have bequeathed to all who have come after them. Mr. Kaye does full justice to this part of his subject. He writes of them with an interest that is evidently genuine, and with an adequate appreciation of their heroism and their Christian wisdom. It is possible to overrate the calling of the missionary, and many men would find it harder to be an honest shoemaker at Kettering than to be what Sydney Smith called an "inspired cobbler" at Serampore. But it is also very easy and very common to underrate the importance and the interest of missionary life; and a narrative of religious self-sacrifice, composed by a unity of educanarrative of religious self-sacrifice, composed by a unity of educa-tion and honesty, is therefore always worth having.

The second era comprised in Mr. Kaye's subject is that of the establishment of a State Church—the introduction of an outward and visible form of Christianity into India—the creation of Protestant ecclesiastical machinery, and the recognition of the value of the importation by the Anglo-Indian community. The Act of 1813 is the basis of the second phase of Indian Christianity. The Company were no longer a band of traders—they had

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<sup>\*</sup> Christianity in India. An Historical Narrative. By John William Kaye, London; Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.

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taken their place as a great political institution. The time had now come for them to avow publicly the creed to which as individuals they adhered. They did so tentatively and slowly; and although Mr. Kaye blames the individuals who were the cause of this prudent slowness, he is loud in praise of the general policy which comes before him with the sanction of the Company he so greatly and so justly admires. The biographies of Bishop Middleton and Bishop Heber form the chief material for the history of this epoch. The former belonged to a type which Mr. Kaye abominates. He was learned—he was cautious—and he was a stickler for ecclesiastical decorum. He receives, therefore, rather hard measure from a Clapham Common historian. Nor does Bishop Heber awaken in Mr. Kaye anything like the enthusiasm which is excited by the late Daniel Wilson. And we ought not to wonder at this. For what is to be the standard of Episcopal excellence? Not the influence of the bishop over the natives, for, as we have already said, Mr. Kaye gives us the history of the creation of an apparatus for converting the natives, and not the history of the result of the working of this apparatus. It is, therefore, of the last importance in the eyes of the historian that this apparatus should be of the right kind. Now, Mr. Kaye repeatedly selects, as critical marks of the goodness he desires, a distaste for theatrical entertainments and a rigid observance of what he calls the Sabbath. A bishop, therefore, to be a good bishop, must belong to the school that adheres to these cardinal points, and the apparatus will be pronounced good or had according as it embodies these essential dogmas.

ness he desires, a distaste for theatrical entertainments and a rigid observance of what he calls the Sabbath. A bishop, therefore, to be a good bishop, must belong to the school that adheres to these cardinal points, and the apparatus will be pronounced good or bad according as it embodies these essential dogmas.

We are glad to get to the third epoch treated of by Mr. Kaye, because he is a writer for whom we have a sincere respect, and whose ability, when rightly guided, is as useful as it is conspicuous. This concluding epoch is that in which the authorities, having proclaimed themselves Christians, had to deal with the religious of their subjects. Here Mr. Kaye is on sure ground. He writes in the spirit and the style of men who were at once Christian, statesmanlike, and highly educated. He explains lucidly and satisfactorily what were the problems with which the Indian Government had to deal, and the manner in which they dealt with them. Mistakes were of course made, although it is very hard to take hold of any single point and say that here the authorities were demonstrably wrong. But, looked at in the gross, the policy of the Government was as wise as it was successful. The justice of the Company may sometimes have been over-scrupulous, and its patience may sometimes have degenerated into tardiness; but still the great fact remains, that the Company in dealing with heathen religions was eminently just and eminently patient. It had the immense advantage of dealing with facts as they arose, and of shaping its policy in accordance with the gradual growth of all that was most sound in English opinion. And how great this advantage was may be estimated by looking at the effect and of shaping its policy in accordance with the gradual growth of all that was most sound in English opinion. And how great this advantage was may be estimated by looking at the effect produced by the portion of the Queen's recent proclamation that touched on religion. There is nothing whatever to find fault with in the language of the proclamation on this subject. It was necessary, in such a document, to proclaim a large tolerance and to use vague language. But because the proclamation was supposed to mark the commencement of a wholly new era, and to erect a sudden barrier between the past and the future, religious complications of a very intricate nature have already arisen. Measures will have to be taken which will cause great disappointment to the native, as segminally in variance with gious complications of a very intricate nature have already arisen. Measures will have to be taken which will cause great disappointment to the natives, as seemingly in variance with the text of a document they regard as the charter of their liberties, but which would have been the natural and unnoticed growth of the prudent policy of the Company. It will require the greatest firmness of the Indian Sceretary and the Indian Council to resist the pressure of the hasty ignorance of the religious public in this country, and at the same time to take the necessary steps for making the natives acquiesce in the protection of Christianity by the State. To the great purpose of enlightening fanatics on this side the water Mr. Kaye's book will be a very valuable help. One by one he takes the chief points of difficulty, reasons on them, and shows how wise men have resolved them. When we remember how greatly such an exposition is wanted, we must end our criticism by saying that we could have better spared a better book. A calmer, a more philosophical, a more thorough discussion of the history of Indian Christianity would have been more acceptable to those who do not need to be convinced of the wisdom of moderation, but it would have been simply tabooed by those who need to be but it would have been simply tabooed by those who need to be guided and restrained.

## RACHEL ET LA TRAGEDIE.

THE relation between the great artist and the great artist's teacher—the genius of creative expression and the genius of critical training—is generally a peculiar and an affectionate one. The picture given by George Sand of the musical maestro Porpora, and his pupil Consuelo, is typically true. The real and unselfish admiration of the genuine critic for the Divine gift of inspiration mingles pleasantly with the feeling, so natural to the conscientious pedagogue, that the inspired power is all the greater for the strictness of the method under which it has been developed. Porpora may honestly congratulate himself, not only that his are the ears which first recognised the capability, but that his are the hands which have drawn out to their extreme

\* Rachel et la Tragedie. Par M. Jules Janin. Paris. 1859.

beauty of expression the tones of that voice which now sways the multitude. As long as any art worth teaching is taught by one individual to another, the Chiron of that art will appropriate (and justly) some share of the triumphs of its Achilles.

individual to another, the Chiron of that art will appropriate (and justly) some share of the triumphs of its Achilles.

Jules Janin, as the leading critical authority of the Parisian coulisses, clearly feels, and probably has a right to feel, that his relations towards the greatest French actress of our times were more or less of this order. He has, at any rate, a right to remind a too-forgetful generation that he was the first to find and to proclaim the promise of the perfect rose in the opening bud; and it is impossible to grudge him whatever satisfaction he may find in uttering this reminder as loudly as he pleases. On his own showing, his critical taste and his friendly counsels were, on more than one occasion, most important in the influence they exercised on Rachel's representations and studies. Not only as her theatrical sponsor, but as one of her personal friends, does he take a pardonable delight in dilating on one triumph achieved by her after another in the most transitory of all the fields of art in which an empire may be won. He speaks with the earnest sadness of a memory conscious of the intense but limited power which all remembrancers of foregone acting must be content with—intense to reproduce the impression of genius and beauty in its former witnesses and worshippers, but limited in its influence to the circle of those alone. M. Janin's history of the artist-life of his favourite is full of those slight touches which suggest to the memory more than they could convey to the imagination alone; and it is full, too, of a warm everyday regard, interested in the life of Rachel off the stage as well as on it, and able to think of the woman apart from the heroine. It is not wanting in prettily told details, or in genuinely simple extracts from the familiar correspondence of the Jewish girl who, for the most prominent half of her life, was wearing the mantle of Phèdre or Hermione.

The position which Rachel so speedily conquered for herself on the French stage was a remarkable one from the circum-

half of her life, was wearing the mantle of Phèdre or Hermione. The position which Rachel so speedily conquered for herself on the French stage was a remarkable one from the circumstances of the time. The appreciation of great tragic acting appeared almost to have died out even among the most educated of playgoers. The performances of Talma and of Madlle. Mars were far removed among the memories of the past. The sense of a life still remaining in the graceful harmony of Racine's verses, or in the rough strong mould of Corneille's lines, was faint indeed. Yet there was still some personal tradition of the authors. In spite of the tedium produced by the ineffable failures of modern French writers in tragic composition—in spite of the vogue obtained by the busy and complex drama of which the magnificent spectacles and melodramatic anomalies were in the strongest contrast to the simple stately monotony of of which the magnificent spectacles and melodramatic anomalies were in the strongest contrast to the simple stately monotony of the earlier tragedies—a French audience still possessed some historical faith in the great names of the age of Louis the Fourteenth. Literary France was at least ready to accept a revival, if the revivifying force could be rightly applied. It sat and waited in hope till an angel should appear and trouble the water which had been still so long. At last the miracle was performed. But among English readers in general, there existed no such faith and no such hope in the resurrection of French tragedy. To their ears, the words of Racine and Corneille were elegant and noble words, and little more. To their sense, no dramatic force betrayed itself in the rarely broken series of those polished Alexandrines, which reminded them more frequently of their own poet's slight sareastic simile of the

Corneille were elegant and noble words, and little more. To their sense, no dramatic force betrayed itself in the rarely broken series of those polished Alexandrines, which reminded them more frequently of their own poet's slight sarcastic simile of the wounded snake than of any other living interest whatever. Their faith in the great dramatist of England left them little curiosity to analyze, and not much care to believe in, the perfections of French tragedy. Hecuba à la Française was no more to them than they to Hecuba—nothing but a lay figure, as passionless as the libretto of an opera of which the music is still to be written.

Yet, when Rachel appeared, English spectators recognised as readily as French the life which the genius of a living actress was able to impart to the masque of inanimate words, conventional circumstances, and mute or shadowy personages surrounding her. The thinness of plot, and the rigid absence of incidents by which the plot might be varied or disturbed, could no longer conceal that the language and situations of Corneille and Racine's plays did envelop a character and an interest which only needed due interpretation to be rightly appreciated. With no support beyond herse!!, except such as the more or less intelligent medicerities who declaimed the secondary parts were competent to give her, Rachel yet was able to conceive and to express a perfect and an absorbing idea. The key-note of the tragedy was fixed—the music was written, and the barren phrases of the libretto had received their meaning. Remote as the atmosphere of sentiment and passion in which the drama moved might be from the air of common day, and vague as the relations and attitudes of the subordinate figures might appear, the scene was now entirely removed out of the domain of conventionalism. The epoch of the action might be indefinitely marked to the spectators, as it probably was in the conceptions of the Court-poets themselves. Local colour (to use the professional phrase) might be wanting, or even wrongly applied.

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assumed a definite importance and appropriateness as the vehicle of the royal emotions and severe passions of that unique figure. It was as natural to listen to Berenice talking in French Alexandrines as to hear Norma speak in song. And the feeling of reality did not fade with the spectacle. Whoever will read over to himself one of Corneille's plays in which he has seen Rachel act, and then one of the others, will not only recall the general effect of the wonderful picture, but will find that he still attaches to the very phrases and sentiments of the first a consistent and impressive meaning which his own imagination will hardly infuse into sive meaning which his own imagination will hardly infuse into

very phrases and sentiments of the first a consistent and impressive meaning which his own imagination will hardly infuse into the other.

One of the first conditions of the admirable truth of Rachel's representations was her conscientious refusal to make unnecessarily detached "points" in her acting. All details were kept in the most accurate subordination to the general character. M. Janin observes, with great justice, that her presentation of an idea never outran or overran her connection of it. She was too great an artist ever to rely upon an effect of the moment which her own judgment did not sanction. It would be nearer the truth to say that she sometimes under-acted than that she ever over-acted a scene. She read as she ran, and studied her own performance night after night as she went along. Until she had mastered, not only the unity of her rôle, but the shade of feeling due to cach portion of it, Rachel was better pleased to leave the particular muance of any one situation unexpressed, or only fainly imaged by the mere utterance of the words themselves, than to run the risk of expressing it discordantly or in wrong proportion. The points—if they could be called such, where all, when perfected, was point—grew up by degrees, and in unbroken harmony of conception in the mind of the student and in the performance of the actress. The union of such powers of affecting her audience as Rachel possessed, with such intuitive discretion in the exercise of them, was as effective as it was rare. It conferred a character of absolute spontaneity on the most sudden and energetic expressions of passion, which was sufficient to carry all spectators along with it in irresistible sympathy. Profoundly meditated as such outbursts were by the artist, it was impossible to hear them without the conviction that they were modulated according to the genuine and momentary passionate impulse of the speaker. The entire fusion of her own personality in that of the tragic heroine whose mask she was wearing for the night gave to every One of the first conditions of the admirable truth of Rachel's

prison, trial, and execution scene.

Jules Janin is right in reprobating, as the one act of Rachel's artist-life which showed undeniable bad taste, her recitation of the Marseillaise after the revolution of February. It was not only a wanton but a thoroughly base prostitution of her genius to the madness of the time. Wonderful in power and ferocity as all who saw this exhibition allow it to have been, it was one which neither the vanity of art nor the economical necessities of a failing theatre (her alleged excuse) could justify. In ordinary times, such a representation of an inspired Socialist tigress might have passed as a piece of sublime Royalist irony; but as the Red Republicans of 1848 were incapable of believing in the seriousness of any view but their own, the most poignant of sarcasms would have been wasted on the obtuseness of their single idea. And Rachel, unfortunately, was, if not in carnest, at least in-And Rachel, unfortunately, was, if not in earnest, at least in-

In measuring Rachel with Ristori, it is difficult to feel sure of possessing adequate grounds for of possessing adequate grounds for an absolutely impartial criticism. The Italian dramas in which Ristori has performed criticism. The Italian dramas in which Ristori has performed in England have in general only given room for a forcible one-sided expression of power; and to an audience studying Ristori's analysis of Lady Macbeth by the light of Shakspeare's words and the traditions of great English actresses, the paraphrase in prosaically diluted Italian, and the foreign and Southern reading of the character, were rather curiously interesting than abstractedly satisfactory. But any comparison of the two is in fact a comparison of the two poles of tragic excellence. What is summer in the one is winter in the other. Ristori, energetic, hard, set in expression of face and gesture, minute in byplay, anxious not to lose a possible point, and to improve each point to the full, is the personification of a pre-Raffaelite painting. Her sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth* was full of genius, but of the genius of realism only. The physical suffering of the death-stricken queen overlaid too powerfully the mental anguish of the criminal, to the expression of which its intensity should have been subordinate. Rachel—equally conscientious, but more free and impulsive—swifter in action, subtler and more comprehensive in thought, more statuesque in repose, and more inscrutable in dreamy, passionate variety of influence over the senses—held such a mirror up to nature, as left some mystery always to be followed up and worked out by the spectator's imagination.

#### THE WARS OF THE ROSES.\*

WE do not exactly see why the Wars of the Roses should have been specially selected as a subject for boys. As a boy reads his History of England, he will of course read the history of the fifteenth century in its proper course, and give it its proper share of attention. But we do not know that it is one of the periods which we should have specially hit upon as suited above others for youthful study. Its political aspect is most important; but its true character does not lie on the surface, and it presents considerable difficulties even to the mature intellect. No period certainly is, as Mr. Edgar says, "richer in romantic interest" of a certain kind; but it is of a kind by no means always agreeable. The first aspect it presents is that of Englishmen butchering one another absolutely for nothing. This is by no means the real state of the case; but he would be an unusually thoughtful boy who could see much deeper. We should have thought that better periods for the purpose could have been found both earlier and later. The whole of our earliest history, from the landing of Augustine to the last struggle of Hereward, is full of tales of an interest equally romantic, and, to our mind, much healthier. The struggle of Englishmen against foreign invaders is surely a more satisfactory picture than their internecine warfare with one another. Nor does it much matter if a detail or two here and there be possibly mythical. Whether Alfred actually let the catego hymore protice. picture than their internecine warfare with one another. Nor does it much matter if a detail or two here and there be possibly mythical. Whether Alfred actually let the cakes burn or not, it is a forcible way of impressing on the mind to what straits Wessex and her King were reduced, and from what that King's genius relieved her. Canute may or may not have actually delivered his celebrated address to the waves, but the tale at any rate helps to make up the true picture of the Northern pirate transformed into a Christian and beneficent monarch. We can testify from experience that the youthful mind is especially pleased to hear how "Æthelstan, the lord of earls, the giver of bracelets, life-long glory in battle won, with the edge of the sword, by Brunanburgh." Coming on a few ages later, in the thirteenth century you have the most brilliant of all periods, when every English institution assumed the essential form which it still retains, and which is as rich as any age in great men and great deeds. We are far from despising the King-maker, but we should prefer previously introducing our young friends to the authors of the Great Charter and the heroes of the Barons'—more truly the People's —wars. The tale is at least as interesting, and the political instruction lies on the surface.

wars. The tale is at least as interesting, and the pointed instruction lies on the surface.

Mr. Edgar's book is of too slight a texture to demand any very formal criticism. We do not profess to have examined it minutely enough to guarantee its perfect accuracy, but in the sort of inspection which we thought sufficient, we were at least not shocked by anything particularly monstrous. The author seems to have taken some pains, and to have bestowed some thought on the period he is dealing with. But his way of writing is rather that of the "literary man" than the scholar. He is rather fond of the fashionable way of putting exciting titles to his chapters. One is actually headed "From Britanny to Bosworth:"—another specimen of the "crambe repetita" which has grown up so profusely over the path which once led "from Cornhill to Grand Cairo." Moreover, the book is adorned with some most queer illustrations, making the great men of the fifteenth century appear almost as marvellous as the mythical heroes and heroines who look down so benignly on the orators of the Oxford Union. We imagine they are something of the pre-Raffaelite order, only it is not exactly painting from nature to represent the Westminster Abbey of Henry VI.'s time as possessing the towers which were added by Sir Christopher Wren.

Mr. Edgar's views of the inner politics of the period seem instruction lies on the surface.

towers which were added by Sir Christopher Wren.

Mr. Edgar's views of the inner politics of the period seem accurate and sensible enough. We only doubt how far his youthful readers will take them in. It is easy to see in many places the influence of Sir E. B. Lytton's grand romance, which we only incline to quarrel with for putting "the Last of the Barons" too nearly on a level with "the Last of the Saxon Kings." We have no doubt that Richard, Earl of Warwick, was as good a patriot as one commonly meets with—that is, a man who takes the side which he believes to be right, but who does not object to couple his own advancement with the welfare of his country. And his immense popularity clearly testifies to

<sup>\*</sup> The Wars of the Roses; or, Stories of the Struggle of York and Lancaster. By J. G. Edgar. London; Kent and Co. 1859.

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the existence of some very great and very attractive qualities. But the really deep phenomena of the period underlie the personal history. Here is a dynasty whose only claim to the Crown rested on Parliamentary election—a dynasty whose position was exactly analogous to that of Nassau and Hanover—whose policy in the third generation becomes decidedly retrograde, which seems blind to the growing progress of the nation, and rests entirely on the support of the peerage and the clergy. It should not be forgotten that the reign of Henry VI. witnessed the passing of a counter-Reform Bill. The county franchise, originally belonging to all freeholders—if it was ever confined, as some think, to tenants in capite, which is a distinct question—was then confined to forty-shilling freeholders. The change in the value of belonging to an ireconders—It was ever connect, as some think, to tenants in capite, which is a distinct question—was then confined to forty-shilling freeholders. The change in the value of money has long ago brought things back to their old state, but a forty-shilling franchise in the fifteenth century must have been a rather exclusive one, and its introduction must have disfranchised a large body of electors. The King was weak, his foreign wife was unpopular, his Ministers equally so, their administration was unfortunate abroad and oppressive at home. His rival, whose claim rested technically only on the extremest notion of divine hereditary right, was virtually the popular candidate. Something similar may be observed three centuries later. In the Walpole times, "Revolution principles" had stiffened into as dead a conservatism as well might be, and the Jacobite Johnson held more enlarged views on several points than his Whig contemporaries. The hereditary claim of the House of York was simply a puzzling piece of genealogy, going in and out through various mazes of female succession. Had Henry been in the least equal to his place, the son of the here of Azincourt, out through various mazes of female succession. Had Henry been in the least equal to his place, the son of the hero of Azincourt, the direct male heir of the hero of Creey, would have appealed far more successfully to the sentiment of hereditary right than Richard of York could have done to its letter. But Richard of York was the personal favourite of the English people—he put himself at the head of the political movement of the age. Had he been otherwise, no one would have thought of the violated rights of his great-grandmother. As it was, they served conveniently to give a legal pretext to what people really wished on other grounds. The York princes were thoroughly English; they were not troubled by the escapades of any French Queens; they, their sons, and their daughters, intermarried with the nobility of the land. Indeed, by this means, through discreet selection of heiresses, the cadets of the royal house were provided with handsome establishments, without drawing upon the public purse. At any rate, it had the effect of making the later Plantagenets and their Tudor successors more truly national rulers than any that have come after them, or any that had gone Plantagenets and their Tudor successors more truly national rulers than any that have come after them, or any that had gone before them since the Conquest. Queen Elizabeth had no foreign ancestor or ancestress nearer than Queen Katharine of France, and, on the side of her Yorkist grandmother, she could trace through two centuries of English progenitors, up to Edward and Philippa. One can hardly doubt that the thorough identification of these rulers with their subjects, both in blood and feeling, was one main reason which enabled them to do with impunity things which their predecessors and their successors, Richard II. and Charles I., could not do unscathed. The personal character of Edward IV. may well seem detestable; but till quite the end of his career it was not likely to give much offence in his own time. The amours and banquetings of a victorious young soldier, when combined with a handsome person much offence in his own time. The amours and banquetings of a victorious young soldier, when combined with a handsome person and popular manners, would excite no very severe disapprobation. Till after the fall of Warwick no very monstrous cruelty is laid to his charge. "Smite the leaders, but spare the Commons," was the watchword of the English civil war, which might well strike Comines as a contrast to the merciless devastation of Armagnac and Burgundianfeuds. Edward's political and personal interest allied him with the growing element of the age—the inhabitants of the towns. Richard III., after efforts far from unsuccessful both to whitewash his character and to straighten his back, still remains, at the best, a character far from amiable. He probably murdered his nephews; he certainly acted a part of abominable hypocrisy, and took off a head or two without form of law. But it hardly becomes an age of copys d'état to speak harshly of him. He was a statesman, a captain, and a legislator, harshly of him. He was a statesman, a captain, and a legislator, and would probably have shrunk from a general massacre in the streets of London. We cannot think that the last Plantagenet need be afraid of competition with either the first or the second Tudor.

During this later Plantagenet and Tudor period England assumed its modern shape in many important respects, yet it is impossible to help looking upon it as, in some points of view, a period of retrogression. The dominion of the law became more fixed, but the law too often meant the personal will of the Sovereign. The the law too often meant the personal will of the Sovereign. Ine old feudal Baronage was crushed, and a new nobility grew up in their place. But the old feudal Baronage, with all their faults, had deserved well of English freedom. Their successors were the mere abject slaves of the power to which they owed their greatness. It is not without meaning that, among the victims of Henry VII., we find men bearing the two most illustrious names of the thirteenth century—Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Simon de Montfort. It is palpable that direct progress was checked—that Tudor England was less free than Plantagenet England. But progress was merely checked, not stopped, and probably the progress was merely checked, not stopped, and probably the check was necessary to fuller progress at a later time. The kings had many interests in common with the lower class, and a season of repose was needed for the people to perfect their material strength ready for putting forth their political strength

in the next age. And even Parliamentary and judicial subserviency had its good side. The Tudors could do what they wished with every legal form, therefore they had no temptation to reign without legal forms. In short, English liberty was only asleep, not dead, and it ever and anon gave signs that there were certain limits which Elizabeth herself might not pass. And it was no small part of Elizabeth's policy that, when she had to yield, she yielded in time and yielded graciously. The Stuarts never yielded till yielding was too late. Hence a very small concession from Elizabeth was received with loyal gratitude—a very large one from Charles I. or James II. provoked only contempt or suspicion.

concession from Elizabeth was received with loyal gratitude—a very large one from Charles I. or James II. provoked only contempt or suspicion.

The period of the Wars of the Roses is, we ought to add, for one so recent, not a little obscure. There are many contradictory statements of facts and it is far from safe implicitly to trust the chroniclers who wrote in Tudor times, and who were, therefore, in duty bound to blacken the house of York. A sense of this has perhaps caused an exaggerated reaction among modern writers, from Sharon Turner onwards. To return once more to Mr. Edgar, from whom we have strayed a long way, he sometimes strikes us as having sources of information to which we, at least, have no access. How comes he to know quite so much about the marriage, or supposed marriage, of Edward IV. and Lady Butler? Are the Eleanor Butler of the Croyland writer, the Elizabeth Luey of Hall, and the nameless lady in Comines, all the same person? Mr. Edgar seems to make Comines speak of Eleanor Butler, while, in truth, he is carefully anonymous; and when he says that she "had seen fifteen more summers than her royal lover"—Mr. Edgar's people seem always to have passed the winter with their eyes shut—this is merely an inference of Dr. Lingard's from a genealogical tree which he adduces rather to throw discredit upon the story. In short, Dr. Lingard goes very carefully through the evidence (and, where the Pope is not interested, nobody judges better of evidence) and entirely rejects the whole story. We are ourselves strongly inclined to believe it is one which has a strong affinity to the "black box" whose contents were to convert the Duke of Monmouth into a Prince of Wales.

#### WHAT IS MONEY?\*

I'may be hoped that the recent edition of Colonel Torrens's work on Currency will close, for some time at least, the controversy which has been so long open between the followers of Mr. Tooke and the disciples of the orthodox currency school. Mr. Tooke and the disciples of the orthodox currency school. We are not sanguine enough to expect that the ingenious reasoners whom Colonel Torrens has attacked with a vigour and success worthy of his old reputation will so far do penance as to make a recantation of their errors. But the refutation which is given to the theories propounded by Mr. Wilson and others during the late inquiry into the Bank Act, is so clear and satisfactory that it can scarcely fail to convince any reader who approaches the subject with a genuine desire to penetrate to the truth. The chapter added to the present edition as an answer to the speculations of Mr. Tooke, Mr. Fullarton, and Mr. Wilson, disposes effectually of their three main paradoxes.

1. That prices do not depend on the amount of the circulating medium.

2. That banks cannot over-issue convertible paper; and 3. That the exportation of bullion is not the result of relative depreciation of the currency. We have discussed these strange theories on many occasions, and are not disposed to go over old ground again by entering very minutely into the details of the controversy. It is enough to say that the defence of the really simple principles by which the currency is governed, against the recent form which the opposition has assumed, is as sound and as much to the purpose as anything that Colonel Torrens has ever written; and if any who have interested themselves in the subject have been unable to disentangle themselves from the cobwebs which-have been so cleverly spun about it, a little time given to his last edition is the most hopeful prescription we can suggest for the relief of their melancholy condition.

There is one part of Colonel Torrens's work, and one only, in which we should like to see some little change, and that is the first chapter on the preliminary question, What is Money? It may be thought that if this is faulty, the error must run through the whole of a book built upon a shaky foundation. But the chapter is not so much wrong as inadequate. Its worst defe We are not sanguine enough to expect that the ingenious reasoners whom Colonel Torrens has attacked with a vigour and

introduction to any controversial work. The arguments to be founded on the principles laid down are always haunting the writer's mind; and definitions and axioms are stated in forms which, though not perhaps absolutely incorrect, are very inferior

<sup>\*</sup> The Principles and Practical Operation of Sir Robert Peel's Act o 1844 Explained and Defended. By R. Torrens, Esq., F.R.S.

to the shape which they would naturally assume if they were propounded without a thought as to the use that was afterwards to be made of them. Almost all writers on currency questions have made their definition of money the key-note of their have made their definition of money the key-note of their system, and, with scarcely an exception, they have distorted or straitened the definition to accommodate their pre-conceived doctrines. A man may define a word as he pleases, if he does but hold fast to the meaning he has first ascribed to it; but but hold fast to the meaning he has first ascribed to it; but in any science of the nature of political economy no word comes up to be defined without bringing with it a more or less vague popular signification. If the scientific definition, instead of merely giving precision to the popular notion, arbitrarily departs from it to the right or left, the author is armed at once with one of the most effective weapons of sophistry. It is so easy to shift from the strict to the familiar signification of a word, as the exigencies of argument require, that to argue with a man who has started with a cunning definition of this kind is almost hopeless until the artifice is exposed by a close inquiry into the definition itself. into the definition itself.

All the disputants on the currency know quite well that, whatever definition of money is given, they are certain to be met on occasion with the doctrine that an increase of money leads to an increase of prices; and it is curious to observe how hard each struggles to fix the meaning of the term in such a sense as to bring the familiar maxim into his own service. Another example of the same kind is afforded by the term circulation. The disciples of the Tooke school are bent upon proving that prices are not affected by the amount of the circulation and the The disciples of the Tooke school are bent upon proving that prices are not affected by the amount of the circulation, and the way in which they attempt to make out their case is by tampering with the definition of the word circulation, and excluding from its amount the whole of the Bank reserves. Having done so, they profess to be able to prove from experience the falsity of a proposition which no longer bears the sense in which the supporters of the Bank Act relied on it.

But to return to Colonel Torrens's first chapter—his definitions of money and credit, though not absolutely unfair, like those of his opponents, seem a little warped by a very needless dread of the inferences which may be drawn from them. Money is defined as consisting of "tangible objects which can be passed from hand to hand, which law, or usage having the effect of law, has established as measures of value or media of exchange, and as equivalents by the tender and acceptance of which payments are made and transactions are finally closed." The terms of this definition seem to have been selected for the purpose of drawing the line between money and credit, so as to include coin and notes (whether legal tender or not), and to exclude cheques, bills of exchange, and everything else. We believe that, by drawing the line here, we get more harmony between the scientific and popular use of the term than by any other definition, and certainly very much more than by the arbitrary classification of the opposite school, which excludes even Bank of England notes from the category of money, and groups them in common with bills of of money and credit, though not absolutely unfair, like those of opposite school, which excludes even Bank of England notes from the category of money, and groups them in common with bills of exchange, as mere forms of credit. But neither the one nor the other of these definitions will justify the assertion that money is the only element of the purchasing power which operates upon prices, and although his argument would be quite as strong without it, we find Colonel Torrens verging occasionally upon such a statement. The truth is, that whatever definition may be given to the word money, the steps from an actual sovereign down to a mere credit in a ledger are so gradual, that if we resolve to fix a rigid line of demarcation between money and credit, we must accompany our definitions by some qualifying explanations if they are to be safely used as the basis of argument. The cardinal and thoroughly sound doctrine of Colonel Torrens's theory is this—that under our system, as under a purely metallic one, a drain of gold must ultimately cure itself by the fall of prices which it induces, and by which bullion is attracted from abroad. Of course, if he could show that (given the quantity of all other commodities) if he could show that (given the quantity of all other commodities) prices depended on the quantity of money (meaning thereby coin and notes), and upon nothing else, the conclusion would be in-

evitable.

But the proposition is equally certain if the real truth be that prices depend mainly on the amount of coin and notes, but partly on that of certain forms of credit, which, though liable to irregular on that of certain forms of credit, which, though liable to irregular fluctuations, must maintain on the average a tolerably constant relation to the quantity of money, in the narrowest sense of the word. That this is more near to the truth than the absolute proposition that, the quantity of commodities being constant, prices vary directly and exactly as the quantity of coin and notes, is unquestionable; and our complaint against Colonel Torrens is not that he denies it (for in some passages he admits it clearly enough), but that he seems, throughout his opening chapter, to be peryusity fighting shy of a proposition of which he has not the enough), but that he seems, throughout his opening chapter, to be nervously fighting shy of a proposition of which he has not the least reason to fear the consequences, although by a process of ingenious distortion Mr. Wilson and Mr. Newmarch may have twisted it into the appearance of an argument in favour of their extraordinary views. The plain truth (which certainly does not justify their strange inferences) is merely this. The price of a commodity depends on the relation between the quantity of it in the market for sale and the quantity of purchasing power which is, in that particular market, in the hands of buyers. The whole purchasing power in all the markets of the country purchasing as, in that particular market, in the hands of buyers. The whole purchasing power in all the markets of the country must determine the range of prices so far as they vary independently of the changes in the supply of each commodity. Now how are we to get at the amount of this purchasing power? Very easily, thus.

A merchant who can command 10,000L, either in cash or credit, will, in the ordinary course of things, first apply it in providing for the immediate liabilities to which he is subject, and will then go into the market with the balance. This balance constitutes his purchasing power at the moment. The sum of the balances of available cash and credit over the immediate liabilities of the balance constitutes the acceptance. holders constitute the aggregate purchasing power of the com-

munity.

Is this power fairly measured by the quantity of coin and bank-notes? Colonel Torrens in effect says that it is, and we have no doubt that he is substantially right. On the other hand, it is said that all forms of credit, whether by the ledger, by bills of exchange, by cheques, or any other instruments, do really represent purchasing power as truly as actual coins of the same value.

sent purchasing power as truly as actual coins of the same value. This also is in some sense true, and it is worth while examining how far the two propositions are consistent with each other. The result we shall come to is this, that although credit is as properly a purchasing power as each, still the latter is much more effective, and maintains besides a sufficiently exact proportion to the whole to make it a very good measure of its amount.

the whole to make it a very good measure of its amount.

To test this, consider a few of the principal forms of money and credit. Every additional sovereign in circulation is clearly so much more purchasing power. The same is just as true of every Bank of England note, for whatever can be bought with the one can be bought also with the other. So also country notes represent purchasing power just as much as Bank of England notes, so long as they remain current—it being quite immaterial, so far as the effect in the market is concerned, whether people take them by force of custom or by force of law. Again, a cheque for root, will buy the same amount of goods which a hundred sovereigns would have bought before banks were in fashion. But neither the bank-note nor the cheque adds its full value to sovereigns would have bought before banks were in fashion. But neither the bank-note nor the cheque adds its full value to the amount of available money, because each of them creates a liability which has to be met out of the coin in the bank when the note or cheque is presented to be cashed. So also a bill of exchange, when made and used for a purchase, is so much added to the purchasing power in the market; but, when paid, it is so much subtracted from the money which would otherwise be available for purchases. Thus far we have not departed much from Colonel Torrens's way of stating the matter. But the question then arises, whether this creation of ultimate liability by cheques and bills is an exact counterpoise to the creation of money, or its equivalent, when they are first issued? Colonel Torrens says, or implies, that it is; and in that we think he overstates the counteracting effect. If an instrument of credit is used once only as a purchasing instrument, the real purchasing power states the counteracting effect. If an instrument of credit is used once only as a purchasing instrument, the real purchasing power of the community is not at all increased by the fact that a certain amount of such instruments are always afloat. If 1,000,000l. of cheques are used to buy goods to that amount, 1,000,000l. of payments have to be made in honouring them, and the residue of the money of the country is therefore capable of effecting 1,000,000l. less of purchases than if that demand had not been made upon it. less of purchases than if that demand had not been made upon it. Again, suppose commerce to be in its normal state, and a certain amount of bills of exchange to be drawn every day and used in the market as money. On the same day an equal amount of other bills will become payable, and the means of purchasing are reduced on this account as much as they are increased on the other. If, therefore, bills of exchange, like cheques, were ordinarily used but once, they would increase the demand for money as much as the supply, and would be without permanent influence on price. But bills of exchange are passed in general several times before they come to maturity, and each purchase transaction effected by them after the first is the exertion of so much purchasing power without any corresponding demand upon the other means of purchase which the country possesses. If B pays for goods by indorsing a note for 100l. accepted by A, he has created 100l. of money for that transaction; and though he has assumed a joint liability for the amount, the total liability to be met is still but 100l., and that measures the whole extent to which the existence joint liability for the amount, the total liability to be met is still but root., and that measures the whole extent to which the existence of the bill can ever draw upon the common stock of money available for purchases. A bank-note in the same way creates its own value in money when first issued, and also creates a drawback to the same amount from the effective power of our stock of coin when it is presented for payment. But before this happens the note may have effected a hundred purchases, and it has therefore added to the effective purchasing power a hundred times as much as it has drawn from it. Bills therefore are money of much less efficiency than bank-notes, and that is the only difference between them so far as their influence on prices is concerned. Cheques have almost no efficiency at all, for they are very seldom used as instruments of successive purchase. They create about the same demand for money as they supply, and therefore do not increase the effective purchasing power of the market. The same is true of every form of book credit, which, not being transferable from one to another, diminishes purchasing power when it has to be paid, as much as diminishes purchasing power when it has to be paid, as much as it has previously increased it when the credit was granted.

The upshot of the whole is this:—I. All forms of credit are capable of exerting a temporary influence on prices when the amount newly created differs from the amount falling due; but unless used as negotiable instruments, they can produce no permanent effect on prices.

2. Negotiable instruments permanently increase the effective purchasing power of the country whenever they are used to make successive payments, and this in proportion to the frequency with which they pass from hand to hand; but the me more p is repe borrow as abo effecte mate t ing prinot use The co discou much afloat to be 1 the pr compa chases the nu it is in that th bulk o tional Coin a measu quality sess in on pri

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the mere acceptance of a bill in payment for goods creates no more purchasing power than it afterwards absorbs, unless the bill is repeatedly used as an instrument of purchase. This is true, no matter how many times the bill may be discounted, for that is a matter how many times the bill may be discounted, for that is a borrowing and not a purchasing operation; and the effect of the instrument is nothing greater than that of a book credit, except, as above stated, to the extent of the intermediate payments effected by it between its creation and maturity. Now, to estimate the importance of bills of exchange in permanently affecting prices, we must observe, first, that the majority of bills are set used in transactions of purchase after their first scentance. mate the importance of bills of exchange in permanently affecting prices, we must observe, first, that the majority of bills are not used in transactions of purchase after their first acceptance. The common course is that the bill effects a purchase, is then discounted a greater or less number of times, and, ultimately, when paid, taxes the money power of the community exactly as much as it first assisted it. Still a certain proportion of the bills afloat are used to effect purchases over and over again, and ought to be reckoned as part of our money power. But, inasmuch as the proportion so employed is small, and the effectiveness of each bill, measured by its rapidity of circulation, quite insignificant compared with that of coin—as, moreover, the number of purchases so effected must bear something like a constant ratio to the number of bills afloat, and to the whole money circulation—it is impossible that there should be any material error in saying that the coin and notes in circulation not only furnish the great bulk of our purchasing power, but are themselves nearly proportional to the less energetic part which is created by other means. Coin and notes may therefore be taken as a good approximate measure of the power which determines prices; and, having the quality of rapid circulation in a degree far transcending any other instruments, the term money may properly be appropriated to them to the exclusion of bills of exchange, although the latter do possess in a much lower degree the essential quality of operating on prices which is closely connected with the idea of money.

This view is quite enough to support Colonel Torrens's argument, that a drain of bullion tends to lower prices, and vice versa. It was not therefore at all necessary for him to deny to bills of exchange the slight power of influencing prices which

argument, that a drain of bullion tends to lower prices, and vice versa. It was not therefore at all necessary for him to deny to bills of exchange the slight power of influencing prices which they really possess, and the last clause of his definition of money as that "by which transactions are finally closed," which is obviously inserted to shut out bills of exchange, might very safely have been left out. The definition would be the better for the omission, because the real essence of money consists only in this, that it is something which you take in exchange for commodities because you know that any commodities may always be had in exchange for it. Whether your payment is final, or whether you give a guarantee with your money as people do in indorsing bills, and to some extent in passing country notes, does not in the least degree alter its influence on prices, or its character as money; and Colonel Torrens's last condition seems therefore misplaced. But without it, perhaps, bills of exchange could not be in strictness excluded from the category of money. Even then there would be no harm done, and we should only have to acknowledge the fact that bills of exchange form a kind of money very feeble in its permanent action on prices—so much so, that acknowledge the fact that bills of exchange form a kind of money very feeble in its permanent action on prices—so much so, that for all general arguments we may without error treat coin and notes as substantially the only representatives of money. This would not satisfy Colonel Torrens, and, in his anxiety to arrogate for coin and notes not merely the pre-eminent, but the absolutely exclusive possession of the qualities of money, and thus to give an appearance of additional force to his reasoning, he has, we think, spoilt the scientific accuracy of his definition, and left one vulnerable point in his otherwise unassailable argument. There is nothing, however, in this to give ground for exultation to his opponents; for, even if the definition be so far defective as we are disposed to consider it, the fault leaves the general argument of the book uninjured, and might be corrected almost without requiring the variation of a sentence in any of the subsequent chapters.

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MACBETH, on Thursday (last time) the 17th.

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Wednesday, March 39—Rev. A. C. Dallas, M.A., Rector of Wonston. Subject—"The Binner and the Saviour."

Wednesday, March 30—Rev. W. Cadman, M.A., Rector of St. George the Martyr, Southwark. Subject—"The Sinner and the Saviour."

Wednesday, April 6—Rev. S. Minton, M.A., Minister of Percy Chapel. Subject—"Sorrow Ended."

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A T A PUBLIC MEETING of the LONDON DIOCESAN HOME MISSION, held at EXETER HALL, on MONDAY EVENING, March 7th,

o 7th, e Right Hon, and Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of LONDON in the Chair,

It was moved by the Right Hon. Lord Education of District in the Chart,

RIPON, supported by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and unanimously resolved—

"That the Report now read be adopted, and that while the efforts that have been made of late years to extend and render more efficient the parochial system in this Metropolis are to be acknowledged with thankfulness, this Meeting cannot but contemplate with sorrow the tens of thousands who are still as sheep without a shepherd, and living beyond the reach of all ordinary Parochial Ministrations."

and living beyond the reach of all ordinary Parochial Ministrations."

It was moved by the Rev. Dr. McNetle, seconded by Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, and unanimously resolved—

"That the means employed by the London Diocesan Home Mission under the sanction of the Bishop, such as preaching in the open air, or in any building which can be obtained for the purpose, as well as holding Special Services in large Parish Churches, are worthy the attention and support of all who seek to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of their fellow citizens: and that while men with peculiar gifts for preaching the Gospel to the poor, and actuated by love for souls, are sought out and sent into the populous parishes of London, by the Council of the Home Mission, it becomes the duty of all whom God has blessed with the means, to supply the necessary funds for carrying on so great a work.

It was moved by J. C. Collebours. Esg., seconded by the Rev. D. Moore.

It was moved by J. C. Colquious, Esq., seconded by the Rev. D. Moors, and unanimously resolved—

and unanimously resolved—
and unanimously resolved—
and unanimously resolved—
"That this Meeting, in common with all who, in this Diocese, seek to advance the
glory of God and the good of his Church, desires to give expression on this occasion to
the gratitude so generally felt for the abundant labours of the Lord Bishop of London,
in seeking to evangelize the yet untaught and neglected masses of the population of
this great city; and that this Meeting, while offering its thanks to his Lordship,
especially for presiding over its proceedings to-night, begs to assure him of its
Christian sympathy with any difficulties he may have to meet in carrying out his
Apostolical work, and its desire to urge upon the laity of all ranks the importance of
doing their part in the work of the London Diocesan Home Mission.

A. C. LONDON, Chairman,

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35 40 50	1000	28	2	6	6	72	32 15				
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14. Lohn-treet, Adelbi, March 12th 1859.

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1:	2 Table Spoons,	do,	***	1	16	0	2	14	0	3	0	0	3	12	0	
1:	Dessert Forks	do.	***	1	7	0	2	0	0	2	4	0	2	14	0	
1:	2 Dessert Spoons	do.	***	1	7	0	2	0	0	2	4	0	2	14	0	
1:		do.	***	0	16	0	1	4	0	1	7	0	1	16	0	
1	Sauce Ladles	do.	***	0	8	0	0	10	0	0	11	0	0	13	0	
1	Gravy Spoon	do.		0	7	0	0	10	6	0	11	0	0	13	0	
4	Salt Spoons (gilt b		***	0	6	8	0	10	0	0	12	0	0	14	0	
1	Mustard Spoon	do,	***	0	1	8	0	2	6	0	3	0	0	3	6	
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1	Soup Ladle	do.	***	0	12	0	0	16	0	0	17	6	1	0	0	
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